







GRANT OF ROTHIE MURCHUS

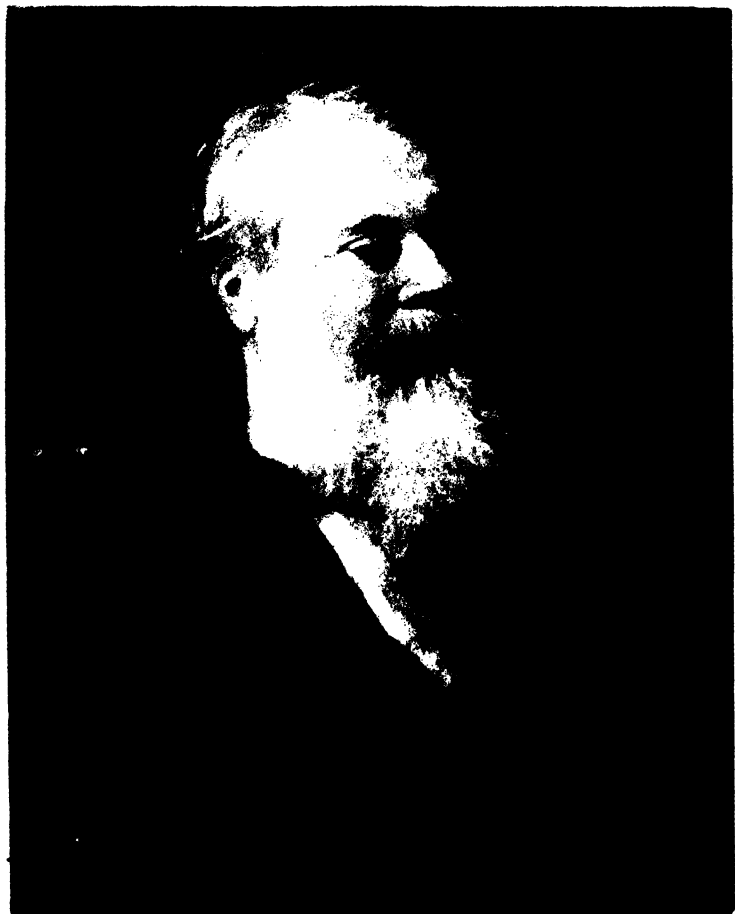


*“ . . . Justissimus unus  
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus acqui ”*

—VIRGIL, “ÆNEID,” *Book 2, Line 426*

*(Quoted in the “Saturday Review,” Leading Article, 21st January 1893)*





G. F. WATTS, R.A. *pencil*.

# GRANT OF ROTHLEMURCHUS

A MEMOIR OF THE SERVICES OF  
SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF INDIA DURING THE  
ADMINISTRATIONS OF LORD DALHOUSIE AND LORD  
CANNING ; LIEUTENANT - GOVERNOR OF  
BENGAL, AND GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA

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AUTHOR OF "THE MARQUESS OF CORNWALLIS," IN  
"THE RULERS OF INDIA" SERIES

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## PREFACE

A LIFE of the late Sir John Peter Grant will, it is understood, be included in a forthcoming volume of the National Biography. It seemed, however, to a near relative of the deceased statesman, that a memoir on a slightly extended scale might be written to show the events in which he took part, and the political questions which he helped to settle in periods of peace and progress in India, as well as in the troublous and exciting time of the Sepoy Mutiny. And in this view, at the request, and with the sanction of a member of the family, I have prepared a narrative of a service which, in India, extended from 1828 to 1862, and in Jamaica, under the Colonial Office, from 1866 to 1874. The Indian Civil Service, whether entered through patronage or through competition, affords scope, it has been more than once remarked, for the

exercise of qualities and talents of very varied kinds. Oriental scholarship, diplomatic skill, legislative construction, administrative ability, tact in dealing with the heirs of an old civilisation, as well as with wild and savage tribes hardly out of the first stage of barbarism ; these and other qualities have illustrated the careers of civilians and of military officers in civil posts who, from Assam to Travancore, from the Bay of Bengal to the Khyber Pass, in rather more than a century, have, on a solid foundation of British valour and strategy, raised a noble superstructure of British equity, order, civilisation, and law. H. T. Colebrooke, the two Muirs, Nassau Lees, in the Sanscrit and Arabic languages and literature ; Elphinstone, Malcolm, Sutherland, Low, Cubbon, and Metcalfe in a past generation, and Daly and Meade in our own times, impressing Chiefs and Princes of high position and untarnished lineage by that personal influence and example which examinations cannot test, nor mere scholarship guarantee ; Robert M. Bird and James Thomason preparing the way for

the evolution of peace and prosperity by settling the proportion of rent due from numerous agricultural communities, and by guaranteeing, as far as the Ruling Power can guarantee it, security to the property and person of individuals; Munro showing with what ease the State can collect its dues from millions of individual cultivators; the Lawrences and their subordinates of the grand old Punjab school, turning martial races into loyal tillers of the soil, and enlisting the warlike instincts of the Sikh and the Akali against rebels and mutineers; James Outram exhibiting to the Bheels of Khandish a daring in the chase which amazed those fearless hunters of the tiger and the boar, and afterwards stemming the tide of corruption and intrigue at Baroda; Frederick Halliday, George Campbell, Richard Temple, and Ashley Eden, governing astute and subtle intellects in the rich, teeming, and prosperous province of Bengal—all these instances and many others may be quoted to show that in India there is ample room for every form of energy, every variety of talent, and every cast and peculi-



arity of character.\* It is no reproach to a profound Orientalist that he is perplexed and puzzled if asked to explain the origin of a *Patni Taluk* or the intricate details of a *Pattidari tenure*. Nor need one who has pacified wild tribes and carried out a Settlement of the Land Laws to endure for a whole generation, complain that his voice has not been heard in exciting Legislative debates, or that he has not had the opportunity of disproving Brougham's well-known sarcasm. Grant was never called on to deal with frontier tribes or to civilise newly-acquired provinces. His duty was the control of older possessions, and his line was free and forcible discussion on paper and in conference. And his later service fully justifies the opinion early formed of him by such an authority as the late Lord Macaulay, who was President of the Law Commission and Legal Member of the Supreme Council during the administrations of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland. The Essayist and

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\* Similar views have been very well expressed by Sir R. Temple, in his memoir of James Thomason, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893.

Historian, in a letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, wrote thus of Grant who then was Secretary to the Commission.

“During many months of constant official intercourse, we had full opportunities of becoming acquainted with his merits. We consider that he unites, in an unusual degree, the power of taking large general views, the power of mastering intricate details, and the power of arranging facts and arguments in lucid order.”

There can be little doubt that Grant as a young official would have been quite in his place as Permanent Under Secretary in one of the great Departments in England, while his powers of argument and judicial frame of mind would, in all probability, have ensured him success at the Scotch or English Bar. The Memoir has been compiled from Blue Books and Public Papers, to which access has been kindly granted to the author by the Rt. Hon. Lord George Hamilton and the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain at the Indian and Colonial Offices. Private and confidential letters of the family have, in addition, been placed unreservedly at his disposal, and he was fortunate

in serving under Grant, in India, in three different capacities, for a period of more than six years. As may be imagined, Grant's time and talents were often exercised in those controversies from which no administration, in India or in England, can wholly escape. But, while it has been the author's aim to publish what is absolutely necessary to do justice to Grant's principles and actions, he has endeavoured to print nothing that could appear to cast any reflection on the dead, or to give offence to their surviving relatives and friends. In the spelling of Oriental names, the new method of transliteration has generally been followed, with exception to such well-known places as Calcutta, Lucknow, Meerut, and others.

I have, finally, to record my thanks to Lady Strachey for access to Grant's correspondence, and for many valuable suggestions and hints in the compilation of this Memoir.

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**PART I**

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**



# GRANT OF ROTHIEMURCHUS

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## CHAPTER I

A FULL account of the Grants of Rothiemurchus is to be found in the entertaining memoirs of a Highland Lady, edited by Lady Strachey, wife of Sir Richard Strachey, in 1898. They were branches of the Clan Grant, owned an extensive district with a moderate rental, and held what has been very fairly described as "rather a high position among the lesser Barons of their wild country." In the last century John Peter Grant, the first who bore those Christian names, was born in 1774. He went to the Bar in England, and exchanged this branch of the profession for that of a Scotch Advocate. He stood for Parliament in the Liberal interest, and sat as Member for Great Grimsby and for Tavistock. In 1827 Charles Wynn, the President of the Board



of Control, appointed him a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay. Owing to serious differences with the Governor, Sir John Malcolm, which are given at length in Kaye's life of that soldier statesman, Mr Justice Grant resigned his appointment, went round to Calcutta where he practised for some time at the Bar, and eventually became a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at that Presidency. He was the father of two sons, of whom the eldest, William Patrick, became Master in Equity at Calcutta, and John Peter Grant, the second son, is the subject of this memoir. Born in 1807, he entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1828. He was educated at Eton and at Haileybury. On arriving at Calcutta he passed through the College of Fort William, and was appointed to the Upper or North West Provinces. In those days all communication between Lower Bengal and the Upper Provinces was either by boat or by palanquin. Young Grant, with other friends, went up by river *via* the Sunderbunds, and in after years he used to relate that on reaching Rajmahal on the Ganges in one month he was congratulated by his friends in Calcutta on his speedy and prosperous journey. At the present time the transit by rail to Tin Pahar,

whence there is a short branch line to Rajmahal, occupies a few hours.

Grant served as Assistant and Joint Magistrate for three years in the districts of Bareilly and Pillibhit, in the province of Rohilkand. At that time Mr Henry Boulderson was carrying out the Settlement of the Land Revenue in those provinces on an elaborate scale, and under this very experienced officer Grant gained an insight into village life, and a grasp of the principles regulating the assessment and the collection of the Land Revenue, which he never lost. It is true that his training in district work did not last more than three years, and that he could not lay claim to an intimate familiarity with the intricate details of a Village Settlement such as enabled Robert M. Bird and James Thomason to complete operations, which in every province of India are the very foundations of all order, progress, and reform. But, in 1832, the late Mr R. D. Mangles, who eventually became a Director of the East India Company, and sat as M.P. for Guildford, offered Grant a post in the Board of Revenue in Calcutta. It may be assumed that Mr Mangles had already discerned the branch of the Service best calculated for the development of Grant's talents. Other

appointments soon followed. Grant served in the Secretariat under Sir William Hay Macnaghten and the late Mr H. T. Prinsep, was Member of a Committee on Prison Discipline, was Secretary to the Indian Law Commission, of which Lord Macaulay was the President, and eventually was made Accountant to the Government of Bengal and Junior Secretary to the Government of India in the Financial Department. In March 1841 Grant proceeded to England on furlough, and did not return to India till the autumn of 1844.

One episode in his early service, previous to furlough, must not be passed over. Lord Cornwallis, in his great measure, the Perpetual Land Revenue Settlement of Bengal, Behar, and part of Orissa, effected in 1793, had reserved to himself and his successors power to pass Regulations for the protection and welfare of all ryots, cultivators, and subtenants; as well as to institute an enquiry into the validity of all tenures claimed by their owners to be held rent-free. The first of these important pledges was not redeemed till the Administration of Lord Canning in 1857. But laws for resuming, assessing, or exempting rent-free tenures from taxation were passed, at intervals, between the years 1819 and 1830, and when

Grant came down to Calcutta, in 1832, as before stated, these operations were in full swing under officers specially selected for the purpose. As may be easily conceived, a tardy enquiry into the validity of rent-free tenures, created by Emperors, Nawabs, and Rajas with a lavish and wanton hand, generations before, caused no small amount of discontent and irritation among the Zamindars and other holders of land. Such grants were of all kinds, and the lands so exempted varied from a very few acres to estates of considerable extent. Brahmans and priests, astrologers and pundits, dependents and favourites, all shared in the beneficence and the capricious favour of superior landlords; and grants were made for the maintenance of Hindu temples and idols, and for Muhammedan shrines and mosques, as well as for purely secular purposes. Much excitement was caused and no little confusion. Title-deeds had been lost or destroyed by fire and climate. Rent-free tenures, especially those of small extent, had been sold or had passed to others than the original grantees. Oral evidence was not forthcoming in many instances, and was naturally distrusted when offered to the Special Tribunals. The whole subject was fiercely discussed in the public Press by some of the

ablest writers of the time ; one party vindicating the right and duty of the Government to avail itself of a neglected source of revenue undoubtedly its own, and the other expatiating on the cruel hardship of subjecting the holders of rent-free tenures to a severe scrutiny, forty years after the Perpetual Settlement had been promulgated and confirmed. In the progress of the discussion there appeared a series of letters, so clear in statement, so severe in logic, so broad in view, as to place the unknown author on a level with the foremost of the controversialists. Eventually, it became known that the writer was Grant, the young Secretary.

As the Resumptions proceeded, the Government modified the severity of parts of the law, and exempted from enquiry plots and tenures of moderate extent. The total annual increase to the revenue was barely forty lacs of rupees, while the expenditure had amounted to more than four times that sum, or one crore and twenty lacs.

Grant, in his later years, and with all his ripe experience, was inclined to doubt whether, if the Government had foreseen the result, and could have weighed the gain in revenue against the loss of popularity and credit, it would have resorted to any such measure at all.

## CHAPTER II

ON his return to India after furlough, in the autumn of 1844, Grant was deputed by the Government of India to enquire into and settle the debts of the Maharaja of Mysore. This potentate had been rescued from a life of penury and privation, and placed on his hereditary throne by Arthur Wellesley, after the overthrow of Tippoo Sultan, and the capture of Seringapatam. Like many other Oriental potentates, the Maharaja had been profuse in expenditure. Grant went carefully into a mass of contradictory claims and counter-claims, and settled them to the amount of a million sterling, with the full approbation of the Government of India and the Court of Directors. At the conclusion of this special duty Grant was sent to report on the agency for the suppression of Meria sacrifices by the Khonds, an aboriginal tribe occupying a jungly district adjacent to the Province

of Orissa and the district of Ganjam in Madras. Here he vindicated the course taken by the late Major S. C. Macpherson, who had successfully discharged the difficult task of abolishing what has been truly termed "an atrocious system of human sacrifice among a singular remnant of the ancient indigenous tribes of India." This duty again elicited the commendation of the Home authorities.

When Grant had settled satisfactorily the affairs of the Maharaja of Mysore, and had vindicated the character of the late Major S. C. Macpherson in his treatment of the Khonds, he was called on to fill a post of a peculiar and exceptional character, as Secretary to the Government of Bengal. The important and distinct office of Lieutenant-Governor of those extensive Provinces was not created till 1854, at the last renewal of the Charter of the East India Company. The Governor-General of India up to that date had been also Governor of Bengal. Unlike the Governors of Bombay and Madras he had not, in the latter office, the assistance of a Council of two or three members. As long as the Governor-General remained at the Presidency, no special difficulty arose from the discharge, by the same hand, of the weighty business entailed by India and by Bengal. But when the Head of the

Empire was called away to the Upper Provinces to keep in touch with political and military complications on the frontier, his place as Governor of Bengal, under the Charter of the day, had to be filled by the Senior Member of the Supreme Council, and he was known in this character as the Deputy-Governor. The migration, as it is now called, to Simla of the whole machinery of Government, Viceroy, Councillors, and Secretaries, had not commenced. Lord Dalhousie, like his predecessors, Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, and Hardinge, spent season after season at Simla, accompanied only by his personal staff, and by the Foreign Secretary; while one half of the affairs of all India, and the whole of the Bengal administration was carried on by the President in Council at Calcutta and the Deputy-Governor, in one person. When Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta in October 1848, not again to reside there permanently before April 1852, Grant was selected to fill the post of Secretary to the Government of Bengal in succession to Mr, afterwards Sir F. Halliday, promoted to be Secretary in the Home Department of the Government of India. On similar occasions, the Senior Member of Council who became Deputy-Governor of Bengal, had been a member of the Civil Service,



and was versed in divers branches of the complicated machinery of revenue and judicial administration. But on the retirement of Sir Herbert Maddock from Council, about 1848-49, a grey-haired and distinguished General, with little or no experience of civil administration, became Senior Member of Council and, as a matter of course, Deputy-Governor of Bengal. Practically, Grant, as Bengal Secretary, was *de facto* the ruler of the Lower Provinces. Few men in India ever filled a post of such difficulty and trust. Grant was by no means sure of gaining any credit for the success of his administrative and judicial reforms, while he was quite certain to invite the criticism, and to be exposed to the obloquy, which few Reformers anywhere can expect wholly to escape. Yet it is not too much to say that between 1848 and 1852 the administration of Bengal was remarkable for measures which would have done credit to Mr Thomason at Agra and to Sir George Clerk at Bombay. And, carried in the teeth of opposition and difficulties, such measures were ratified and endorsed by the Government of India, and by the Court of Directors. The Revenue Survey of Bengal and Behar was placed in the hands of active young civilians, whose duty it became,

not indeed to attempt the costly and impossible task of mapping every field, or every tenant-proprietor's holding, but to mark the limits of villages and the boundaries of estates, and to record the natural features of every district, the area of cultivated and uncultivated land, the pressure of the Public Revenue, and divers other interesting and important statistics. An efficient police was established all along the Grand Trunk Road, which, before the era of railways, was the great highway between Calcutta and Benares. Special officers were appointed for the detection and punishment of Dacoits or gang robbers, who had made life and property insecure in the Metropolitan Districts, and just outside the Mahratta Ditch of Calcutta. The procedure in civil suits was somewhat simplified, to be followed in a few years by the enactment of better codes of civil procedure and law. A costly Board of three members, known as the Board of Customs, Salt, and Opium, which had done its work, was abolished, and one of its three members was added to the Board of Land Revenue. At that period the two members of the last-named Board were able and experienced, but, as often happens, they held opposite and

irreconcilable views on important questions affecting the interests of the Zamindar and the claims of the tenant. It became Grant's duty to decide between these conflicting views, and to express his opinion in letters which had all the weight and dignity of judicial deliverances.

Further, he directed that examinations should be held periodically, to test the qualifications of members of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted services, after they had been a few years at district work. These tests had reference to their practical knowledge of police and revenue matters, and to their familiarity with the vernacular of the Province and District where they were employed. No question of competition arose, but Assistants to Magistrates and Collectors were not promoted to higher powers till they had reached a fixed and reasonable standard of proficiency. In addition to the above reforms, involving much correspondence and labour, Grant had to direct enquiries into serious charges affecting the character and conduct of officials high in the Service, and his decisions received the entire approval of the authorities at home. At this time, too, the Government of Bengal began to publish selections from its records, and to invite

the criticisms and remarks of the public Press; and, on the whole, it may be said that, while filling an exceptional and difficult position, Grant was influenced by the purest motives in the distribution of patronage, in the improvement of the administrative machinery, and in the maintenance of the character and integrity of the Civil Service of Bengal.

### CHAPTER III

IN 1853-54, owing to changes in the higher appointments of the Civil Service, Grant officiated for some months in the Foreign Office, and subsequently was confirmed as Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department. Mr Halliday, who had proceeded to England on sick-leave in the year 1852, and had given most valuable evidence before the House of Lords with regard to the renewal of the Company's Charter, returned to India, after an absence of some eighteen months, to fill a vacancy in the Supreme Council. His tenure of this high office was brief, seeing that in May 1854 he was called on to fill the still more important office of the newly-created Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. With the general approbation of all parties Grant was, by the Court of Directors, appointed to the vacancy in Lord Dalhousie's Council caused by Mr Halliday's pro-

motion. And here the Governor-General, at that time in the very fulness and maturity of his powers and experience, found a colleague who, if he differed on some important questions from a statesman somewhat apt to carry all before him by forcible writing and by personal influence, did not at other times content himself with a brief minute of concurrence, but supported his chief by State papers, in which cogent arguments were set forth in a style of peculiar dignity and clearness. Mr Disraeli spoke of Grant's Minute on the Annexation of Oudh as one of the ablest papers in the whole Blue Book. And Lord Dalhousie acknowledged that opposition on some points was almost welcomed by the powerful support brought to bear on the discussion of others on which the Governor-General had set his heart, and in which his colleague concurred.

In 1854, a new body was called into existence for the work of legislation. Previously, the draft of every proposed legislative enactment was published in the *Gazette*, "plain for all folk to see." The Home Department was charged with the drafting and the discussion, on paper, of all new laws and all changes in existing statutes. Opinions were invited from the subordinate Governments

and from Heads of Departments and district officers whose duties were in any way affected by the new measures of progress and reform. Remonstrances and petitions from individuals, or bodies, or institutions, European or native, were always welcomed, and never hastily dismissed. But, like administrative measures, the proposed legislation was attacked or defended by written Minutes and their counter-blasts. There 'was no such thing as oral discussion or debate in an assembly to which reporters and the public could be admitted. There had been, since 1835, a high official known as the Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, specially charged with the preparation and revision of statutes ; and, not to mention others, these functions were admirably discharged, for twenty years, by such eminent authorities as Macaulay, Charles Cameron, and Barnes Peacock. But, as already said, before 1854 no councillor had got on his legs in an Indian Legislative Assembly to influence his colleagues and public opinion by reason and logic.

The time, however, had now arrived when Lord Brougham's sarcasm, that India was a country in which men did not debate or write, and where "eloquence evaporated in scores of paragraphs," was to lose whatever point or application it may

ever have had. Lord Dalhousie, on the 20th of May 1854, presided at the first open meeting of a Legislative Assembly, composed of the four members of his own Executive Council, the Chief Justice and one Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and four civil servants, representing, respectively, the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, and the North West Provinces. It does not fall within the scope of this memoir to explain when, and from what causes, this Legislative Council was abolished, or, to speak correctly, was replaced by an Assembly differently constituted and composed. But it endured for just seven years, and in that period it dealt with measures of the highest importance, affecting the revenue in all its branches—Land, Customs, and Excise; the Civil and Criminal Codes of Law and Procedure; and more or less every executive department in the length and breadth of India.

*Ergo ipsos quamvis angusti terminus ævi  
excipiat; neque enim plus septima ducitur ætas;  
At genus immortale manet; multosque per annos  
stat fortuna domûs, et avi numerantur avorum.*

A seat in this Assembly displayed Grant's capacity in a new light. Hitherto he had been known in official circles as a forcible and luminous writer. He was



now to show that he could debate. He had to meet colleagues who had the advantage of legal training and forensic experience ; and in a very short time he showed himself the equal of such disputants as Lawrence Peel, James Colville, and Barnes Peacock. Many of the legislative projects discussed and passed between 1854 and 1859, or the five years of Grant's service in Council, though much needed, are technical, departmental, or local. Such, for instance, were the following subjects : Riots, affrays, and unlawful assemblies ; embankments on rivers in Bengal ; desertions from the Indian Navy ; the law of evidence ; Municipal laws in the interior ; the Copper Currency in the Straits Settlements ; Municipal taxes in Bombay ; the sale of landed estates for arrears of Government Revenue in Bengal ; conservancy in the Presidency towns ; outrages perpetrated in Malabar by a set of fanatics known as Moplahs ; disturbances in the Santal districts, in the year 1855 ; the registration of under tenures ; patents, adjournments, and points of order. It is not necessary nor advisable to notice these multifarious topics in detail. But the law for the re-marriage of Hindu widows ought to have a considerable space in this memoir, affecting, as it did, the whole Hindu community from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, and illustrating the course pursued

by a Government that, on the one hand, sanctioned or tacitly overlooked practices somewhat repugnant to Western ideas, and, on the other, dealt vigorously with customs opposed to morality, to the best interests of society, and to natural religion itself.

In 1829 Lord William Bentinck, as Governor-General, passed a law declaring that the rite of Suttee, or Sati, could no longer be tolerated by a British Government, and that persons convicted of aiding and abetting should be deemed guilty of culpable homicide. This rite had been reported on, discussed, explained away, tolerated, and petted for nearly fifteen years, till the cases of widow-burning, instead of diminishing, increased in number, especially in the Metropolitan districts of Lower Bengal. Bentinck, disregarding opposition, conscientious or other, passed a law abolishing the cruel custom, when he had only been a year and a half in India. The statute excited neither rebellion nor emeute, and no discontent was shown even in the holy city of Benares. But the Hindu widow, if no longer encouraged or allowed to burn on the funeral pile of her husband, was yet condemned to a widowhood of degradation, insult, and wretchedness for the rest of her life.

In the year 1855 a native gentleman, Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sāgar began to agitate "for the removal of all legal obstacles to the re-marriage of Hindu widows." Vidya Sāgar was a man of high caste, unquestionable integrity, and profound learning. He was at that time Principal of the Sanscrit College at Calcutta, and then and afterwards was known to bring his influence and his talents to bear on the moral elevation of his countrymen. The re-marriage of Hindu widows was truly described as "a question which affected the most important social institution of the people, and went home to the heart of every man and every woman of the Hindu persuasion in this immense Empire." The community in every Presidency was profoundly moved. The local Governments were asked for their opinions. The Press entered fully into the subject. Petitions for and against the measure poured in from every quarter. Hindu text books, the deliberate opinions of English Judges, and the reports of Residents and Commissioners intimately acquainted with the social peculiarities of the people, were laid before the Legislative Council. It was shown that, twenty years before, the Law Commission, with Macaulay as President, had remarked that the prevalence of child-murder in several provinces might be owing to the "cruel law

which prevented Hindu widows from contracting a second legal marriage." From the voluminous correspondence on Suttee, reaching from 1814 to 1829, it was proved beyond a doubt that the hardships to which widows were subject when prevented from following their husbands to the funeral pile were so intense and so heart-rending, that many were forced to sacrifice themselves, after an interval of many years, with a fiddle, a cushion, or an ornament, or even the slippers, which had been the property of the deceased. Learned pandits showed conclusively that the Shastras contemplated a state of widowhood, and that the prohibition to re-marry was not supported by any sacred texts. Centuries before our time, attempts had been made by native reformers, uninfluenced by Englishmen, to end the degrading practice ; notably by Raghanandan in Bengal, by a Raja in Dacca, by the Rajput Chief of Kotah or Harauti, by Brahmans at Nagpur, and by pandits at Poona. All these praiseworthy attempts had failed from one cause or other—from the fierce opposition of bigots ; from the greed of the interested reversioners to landed estates ; from the apathy of large portions of the community ; from the want of that timely and effective support from the English administrator without which, for at least a century,

no Indian reform, legal or social, has ever attained a lasting success.

Non hæc sine numine Divûm  
eveniunt.

But the time had now arrived, under Providence, for the English statesman to take occasion by the hand. Not, however, that the reform was a matter of simplicity and ease. The agitation lasted during the Sessions of 1855 and 1856. Against the proposal there were forty petitions signed by 50,000 to 60,000 persons. Some of the local Governments were silent. Some memorialists petitioned against the Bill, on the ground, mainly, that it would interfere with the Hindu religion, or that, though in outward appearance permissive, it was, in reality, a coercive law. On the other hand, in Bengal, where the Hindu mind is most alert and active, petitions in favour of the Bill had come from the districts of Nadiya, Bankura, Midnapur, Murshidabad, Rangpur, and others. Mr John Russell Colvin, one of the most eminent of civil servants, selected by Lord Dalhousie for the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces, gave the reform his hearty support. The history and the arguments for the measure are so clearly set forth in Grant's speech on the introduction of the

Bill, that they must be given at length in his own language. On 17th November 1855 the mover rose and spoke as follows :

“The petition on which the Bill was founded made certain allegations of fact. It is said that, by a long established custom, the marriage of Hindu widows is prohibited ; that the civil law of this country, as administered both by Her Majesty’s and the Company’s Courts, incapacitates Hindu widows from contracting second marriages by pronouncing such marriages to be invalid, and making their issue illegitimate. It proceeded to say that this compels Hindu widows, whatever their own opinions, or the opinions of their families in this matter may be, to continue widows all their lives—in some cases from the age of five years. It further said that this state of the law inflicts great cruelty upon the widows, who, being now unable to burn as Suttees with their deceased husbands, have no alternative left, and must lead a life of severe mortification—in fact, a life of the most painful asceticism. It is said that this custom, cruel and unnatural in itself, is highly injurious to the interests of morals, and is otherwise most mischievous to society. From these premises it argued that a law having such effects ought not to be forced upon any one who disapproves of it ; and it prayed that, as the petitioners are of opinion that the custom is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the Hindu Shastras, they, and those who agree with them, might be relieved from the legal restriction of which they complain.

“Now, if the premises could be proved, this argument was conclusive. The Legislative Council could not stand in the way of the removal of a municipal law enforcing upon

unwilling people a prohibition which, so far from being for the public interests, was in the highest degree mischievous. He would speak of these premises in their order. He believed there was no legal decision affording a precedent which positively established the point that the marriage of Hindu widows is invalid, under the law as it is now administered, in British India; and an intelligent native gentleman, who had spoken to him on the subject of this measure, had expressed an opinion that, in the absence of such a precedent, it would be premature to legislate, because we do not know whether the Courts will enforce the interpretation of the Hindu doctrine which the petitioners presume that they will. But even if this question of law were really a doubtful point, he could not think the objection valid. He could not think that it would be right to sacrifice even a single Hindu family to such an objection. But it appeared to him that it was very certain that the Courts would decide in the manner alleged by the petitioners. The custom of the country was universally against the marriage of Hindu widows amongst the higher castes, and all modern English text-books affirmed that the law was as the petitioners allege. Indeed, the text-writers spoke on this point with less qualification perhaps than they might have done if they had given more attention to it. But the custom prohibiting re-marriage was followed so universally in practice, that the point did not appear to have been very deeply studied by any of the English writers on Hindu law. However that might be, he would quote enough from received authorities to show that the petitioners were correct in saying that our Courts would disallow the marriage of a Hindu widow. Sir Thomas Strange, a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at

Madras, in his work on 'Elements of Hindu Law Referable to British Judicature in India,' in a chapter on 'Widowhood,' wrote thus :—

“‘To this tyrannic instance of marital selfishness must be added the prohibition, to women, of second marriages ; and that this should apply, as it does, even to virgin widows, is an abomination surpassed only, if at all, by the custom that has just been denounced,’—the custom, namely, of Suttee. That was a statement of a learned Judge of a Supreme Court who was most sensible of the evil of the custom ; of whose wish, therefore, to open the law for the benefit of widows we might be sure ; but who entertained no doubt of the existence of the prohibition as a legal impediment. He would now quote a high authority of the Company's Courts, Sir W. Macnaghten, from a work written when he was Registrar of the Calcutta Sudder Court. Sir W. Macnaghten, in his 'Principles of Hindu Law,' writes :—

“‘It is well known that women are betrothed at a very early period of life, and it is this betrothment, in fact, which constitutes marriage. The contract is then valid and binding to all intents and purposes. It is complete and irrevocable immediately on the performance of certain ceremonies, without consummation. Second marriages, after the death of the husband first espoused, are wholly unknown to the Hindu law, though in practice, among the inferior castes, nothing is so common.’

“The practice among the inferior classes had, of course, nothing whatever to do with the practice amongst Brahmans and other higher castes of Hindus. He thought he had



said enough to convince the Council that if they wished to make it possible for a Hindu widow to marry, with the reasonable expectation of having her marriage held valid, and her children pronounced legitimate, they must pass some such law as that which he had the honour to propose.

“The next point to which the petitioners referred was the extreme cruelty to widows of the prohibition against re-marriage. He would not trouble the Council with quotations of what the Shastras required of widows who may not burn with their deceased husbands, because all that they did require was not strictly practised, and his object in introducing this Bill was entirely practical. Of the mortifications which the Shastras enjoined, it was difficult to say whether they were more remarkable for their cruelty or for their fantastic absurdity. But he would read to the Council a paper which had been partly supplied to him by a Hindu gentleman of great knowledge, and partly taken down from that gentleman’s mouth, which described the mode of life which a Hindu widow of respectability is now actually required to adopt until the latest day of her life :—

“‘A widow is required to live a life of austerity, the only alternative being to ascend the funeral pile of her husband. Her manner of life is minutely prescribed. Not only must she see no man, she must also avoid every approach to ease, luxury, or pleasure ; she must neglect the care of her person ; she must wear no ornaments ; her hair must be shaved, or at least worn dishevelled ; she must not see her face in a mirror, nor use perfumes or flowers ; she must not freely anoint her body ; and her dress must be plain, coarse, and dirty. The use of any kind of conveyance is prohibited, and she must not rest on a bed. Her

food is limited as to quantity as well as quality. She must not take more than a single coarse meal a day, and the betel leaf, which terminates every repast in India, and is often substituted for a meal, is denied her. Besides other fasts, perhaps a dozen in the year, the Hindu widow is required to abstain absolutely from food and drink twice a month, one day and one night, during every bright and dark period of the moon, on the 11th and 26th day of its age, from which fast not even severe sickness can give her a dispensation.'

"Sometimes, he believed, if one of the moveable fasts, of which there were, he understood, about a dozen in the year, happened to fall the day before or the day after the eleventh day of the waxing or the waning moon, this state of strict fasting lasted for forty-eight hours. During these fasts these unhappy victims, although a fever might be consuming them, and the hot winds might be blowing, were allowed not one drop of water, not one drop of medicine, though it should be necessary to save their lives. The paper from which he was quoting proceeded to say :—

" 'All amusements are strictly prohibited to her. She is not to be present where there is singing or dancing, or at any family rejoicing : she is not even to witness any festive procession.'

"This was the life to which a little prattling girl of five years old, taken from her dolls and her toys, and pronounced to be a widow, was condemned for the whole remainder of her existence upon earth.

"He now came to the immorality which the petition stated the prohibition engendered. He did not wish to dwell on this point longer than was absolutely necessary, for it was

one which could be agreeable to nobody, and must be peculiarly distasteful to those for whose benefit this Bill was intended. But it was impossible to shirk the point altogether, for, in truth, it was the strongest argument in support of the Bill. The Hindu practice of *Bramacharia* was an attempt to struggle against Nature, and, like all other attempts against Nature, was entirely unsuccessful. Every candid Hindu would admit that, in the majority of cases, young Hindu widows fall into vice; that in comparatively few cases are these severe rules for a life of mortification virtuously observed; that, in many cases, a licentious and profligate life is entered upon in secret; and that, in many other cases, the wretched widows are impelled to desert their homes, and to live a life that brings open disgrace upon their families. He would read to the Council a very short passage on this subject from Ward's description of the manners and customs of the Hindus:—

“ ‘ Early marriages give rise to another dreadful evil. Almost all these girls after marriage remain at home one, two, or three years, and during this time numbers are left widows, without having enjoyed the company of their husbands a single day. These young widows, being forbidden to marry, almost without exception become prostitutes.’ ”

“ This was the evidence of an English witness. He would now quote the evidence of a native witness, a learned Mahratta Brahman, who, it may be presumed, was also a man of the world, as he was the son of the minister of a late Raja of Nagpur. Eighteen or twenty years ago this Brahman wrote an essay on the second marriages of widows, in which he argued that the prohibition of such

marriages was contrary to the Shastras, and urged the general adoption of a contrary custom. Major Wilkinson, when Resident at Nagpur, published the essay, with an introduction by himself, in which he gave this abstract on the Brahman's statements upon this point :—

“‘To revert to our author, he maintains that the present prohibition against the second marriage of widows, especially these infant widows, is highly impolitic and unwise, because, in the first place, it disappoints the palpable purpose of the Creator in having sent them into the world; secondly, because it inevitably leads to great moral depravity and vice on the part of these widows; thirdly, because it inevitably causes a frightful amount of infanticide and of abortions; fourthly, because the maintenance of these widows in an honourable and virtuous course of life causes a ceaseless, though fruitless, anxiety to their parents, and parents-in-law, &c.; fifthly, because those widows are inevitably rendered corrupt and vicious themselves by the hard and unnatural laws operating on them, and cannot be prevented from corrupting and destroying the honour and virtue of all other females with whom they associate.’

“It was a Brahman who was speaking. To show that there was no exaggeration of the forms of evil which resulted from the system, Major Wilkinson specified several cases that had come within his own official knowledge within a very few months between the receipt by him of the Brahman's essay and the publication of his own work. Major Wilkinson specified no less than nine cases, of which three had occurred in ten days. He (Mr Grant) would not trouble the Council by going through the cases

—they were of considerable length ; but Major Wilkinson's work was at the service of any honourable member who might desire to refer to it. He would only say that these cases were proved instances of frightful murders, incests, and, in short, of every abomination which it was possible to conceive, caused by the prohibition of the re-marriage of widows.

“ He thought he had proved the premises set out in the petition ; and he was sure that, being convinced of their truth, it was the bounden duty of the Legislature to abolish a law which could force this cruel and demoralising prohibition upon one single human being who disbelieved the doctrine upon which it proceeded. The Legislature had no more right to prevent a single Hindu who believed that the existing prohibition was not in accordance with a true interpretation of the Shastras, and who, from a wish to preserve his widow daughter from life-long misery or vice, desired that she should marry again, from acting in accordance with his humane motive, than it had to force a Muhammadan or a Christian, because he happened to live amongst people of another creed, to sacrifice his daughter in the same manner. But this the Council would do if it refused to pass some such law as that which he held in his hand. This was a law which, while it would set the petitioners, and all who concurred with them, free to follow the dictates of their own consciences, would leave all other Hindus precisely as they were now. It did not pretend to say what was the right interpretation of the directions for conduct in respect to marriage in the textbooks, or which of the conflicting authorities ought to be followed by a Hindu. It would interfere with the tenets of no class of people, it would offend the religious feelings of no human being.”

Again, further on, the speaker said :

“He had said before that the Act, as framed, did not pronounce any opinion whatever as to what should be the proper interpretation of the Shastras on the question of marriage. Of the conflicting authorities who had written on the subject, it did not say which authority ought to be followed. It left every Hindu to be guided in his conduct by the direction of any text-book to which his own judgment and conscience inclined. He denied, therefore, that there could be the slightest colour of reason for saying that the Act would be an interference with the religious opinions or feelings of any one Hindu. He said that this Bill would interfere with the religious feeling of no Hindu. He was not sure that it might not interfere with the sports of some Hindus. In every country there were too many who made it their sport to tyrannise over the conduct and the consciences of others. He could not be sure that his Bill might not be displeasing to some upon this ground. He did not know whether any remonstrance would be actually submitted to the Council against this measure, though he understood that the question of submitting such a remonstrance had been agitated. But of this he was quite sure, that whatever remonstrances against this just law might be laid upon the table, this feeling would be at the bottom of them ; and remonstrances springing from such a feeling, this Council might well disregard.

“If the law which was now proposed were fairly looked at he believed it would be seen to be the natural and necessary complement of the law for the abolition of the rite of Suttee. The object of the law for the abolition of the rite of Suttee was to save innocent Hindu widows from a cruel

death ; the object of the law which he now proposed was to save innocent Hindu widows from a life which, in his conscience, he believed to be worse than death. He did not mean to say that, taking a general view of the case, the custom of *Bramacharia* was as dreadful as the custom of Suttee. An innocent young girl taken to a funeral pile, and there, in the broad light of day, burnt to death, according to law, before the eyes of a multitude—the officers of the law, armed with all the powers of the law, standing by calm witnesses of the spectacle—was such a horrible and demoralising practice as was never exceeded in any country. In a general or national view he could not, of course, compare this Bill with the law which abolished that open abomination. But, confining the view merely to the unfortunate widow who is the victim in either case ; when he considered the personal consequences which the custom of *Bramacharia* forced on the unfortunate females who were made its victims ; when he considered the misery—the certain life-long misery—the probable profligacy and sin which it caused, he did believe that it would be better for a woman to ascend the funeral pile of her husband, and burn with him as a Suttee, than to be condemned to the slow torment of such a life as he had described.

“ The law prohibiting Suttee was a compulsory law. From the day it was passed every Hindu, whatever his own feelings on the subject might be, was compelled to obey it. All the glory, therefore, of that law belonged to Lord William Bentinck and his Council who passed it. But the present law would afford Hindu gentlemen of station and influence a rare opportunity of illustrating their own names. The present was not a compulsory law, and could not be made a compulsory law. It was merely a permissive law,

which could have effect only when those for whose benefit it was intended, should choose to avail themselves of it. Under this law, Hindu gentlemen who, from their rank and their education, may stand forward as the leaders of their nation, have it in their power to register their names in history as the names of those who shall have effected the greatest social reform ever effected in their country. The Legislative Council will have done all it can do, when it shall have struck the shackles from their limbs. It will 'be for them, when they shall gain their freedom, to make use of it like men."

The discussion was ably continued by other Members in support of the Mover.

In the month of July following, that is in 1856, Grant carried the third reading. Referring to Mr Colvin's support, he concluded as follows :—

"Mr Colvin, in recording his cordial approval, had said that he did not expect that the measure would have much early and large practical effect; and this, he (Mr Grant) was aware, was also the opinion of many other European gentlemen with whom he was acquainted. But he was happy to say that, amongst the 5000 native petitioners who had given their support to the Bill, he did not think there was one who had taken this discouraging view. His own expectations were certainly more sanguine. The measure, as was alleged on one side, and admitted on the other, was a measure of innovation. When he remembered what a creature of habit the Hindu was—what a willing slave he made himself to the society to which he belonged



—the fact of 5000 Hindoos, acting independently, and scattered over many different parts of India, coming forward to ask for such a measure, was, to his mind, of strong moral significance. And then, when he remembered how often before, the same attempt had been made by Hindoos themselves at various times and in various places, and how nearly some of those attempts had succeeded, wanting only something like what this Council was, to give them success, he saw no reason to doubt that the pressure of the same evils which had induced large parties of Hindoos to make the struggle, would induce them to use their victory now that it was won. But, although he considered this to be a matter of very interesting speculation, he maintained that it was not, practically, an argument for the Council to consider now. If he knew, certainly, that but one little girl would be saved from the horrors of *Bramacharia* by the passing of this Act, he would pass it for her sake. If he believed the contrary, that the Act would be wholly a dead letter, he would pass it for the sake of the English name."

Lord Canning, who had succeeded Lord Dalhousie in March 1856, gave his assent to the Bill on the 26th of July. The Act has by no means been a dead letter. Every now and then a paragraph in the native newspapers records the interesting fact of the re-marriage of a widow, not merely at the Presidency Towns, but at remote villages in the interior. The result, however, is not to be measured or gauged by the mere number of conversions in any

one year. They will no doubt gradually increase in number. The agitation and its consequences bring out the true Statesman who knows when to abstain from action and when to act. The existence of the prohibition was a disgrace to Hindu Society, while it reflected no credit on the British administration and the English name. That the new law of freedom had the smallest effect on the Sepoy Mutiny of the following year, is not the belief of any official with any experience or knowledge of the people. It is one of those bold and wholesome measures which justify our retention of a great Dependency. The credit, in the main, is due to John Peter Grant and to Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sāgar, and it connects both with the Bentinck who, a generation before, had "effaced humiliating distinctions and abolished cruel rites."

## CHAPTER IV

THE Sepoy Mutiny, 'which broke out within a year after the passing of the Widows' Re-marriage Act, naturally retarded, if it did not completely stop the course of domestic and social legislation. Yet when disturbances were at their worst, and the North-West Provinces had been lost for a season, the Council found time to consider a Bill which, though it did not become law till 1859, did much to protect the tenants and under-tenants from the oppressions and exactions of the Zamindars and Talukdars in Bengal and Behar. This law was, practically, the redemption of the pledges given to the whole body of the tenantry by Lord Cornwallis some sixty years before. The statute has been popularly termed the Magna Charta of the ryot. It did not interfere with the vested rights and privileges of the landholders, while it gave stability and permanence to a very valuable class of agriculturists,

to whom are due the clearance of the jungle, the spread of cultivation, and the introduction of the highest kinds of produce. The time of the Council was also devoted to bills arising out of the Mutiny; desertions, offences against the State, courts-martial, and the enrolment of volunteers. Lord Canning also found it necessary himself to preside at one sitting of the Council, and to urge the prompt passing of a law, enabling the Executive Government to deal vigorously with disaffection and disloyalty, and the license of the Press. In all these measures Grant took an active part, and he gave his support to other steps adopted by the Governor-General for the restoration of order and the security of property and life. A detail of these proceedings may be found in the histories of the Mutiny, and in narratives published at the time or afterwards, and they do not come within the scope and object of this chapter.

But the time had now come when an old and familiar adage was to be reversed, and the gown had to give way to the sword. In the hot weather of 1857 the Mutiny burst upon us, as it has been aptly remarked, "like a bolt from the blue," and put an end, for the time, to a good many projects of legislation and internal reform.

Grant, at the close of this memorable year, was afforded an opportunity of doing service to the State in what was, to him and to many other civilians, a new and unfamiliar field of action.

It is needless to give even a summary of the disastrous events by which, in 1857, we lost district after district. The average reader may be credited with a general knowledge of the evolution of the Mutiny. But it is necessary to show the precise state of things at the beginning of August, the extent of our authority, and the towns and cities which we had managed to coerce and to keep in hand, up to the Doab of Hindostan. August was, indeed, according to the opinion of nearly every one then in India, the most anxious month of an iron time. The massacres of Cawnpore and Futtehghur had taken place. Lucknow had not been relieved. Delhi had not fallen. The English regiments sent out from England were anxiously expected, and were only just beginning to arrive. Mr John Colvin was confined to the Fort of Agra, with thousands of non-combatants and a small force. Whatever civil functions could be discharged in the districts that remained to us at one end of the North-West Provinces, were performed by

John Lawrence, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Benares owed its safety to General Neill, and to such energetic civilians as H. C. Tucker, the Commissioner of Division, and F. Gubbins, the Magistrate and Judge. The Fort at Allahabad, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna rivers, was preserved for us by Havelock and Brasyer's Sikhs. On the other hand, the neighbouring districts of Azimgurh and Jaunpur had been occupied by mutineers, and the civil officers had retired, not without some loss. All the Doab of Hindostan had returned to chaos. Oudh was swarming with Sepoys and with a rabble eager for plunder. Gorakhpur, a very important district bordering on Nepaul, which, it was hoped, might have been saved by the Gurkhas, had been abandoned; and there were troubles and trials in Behar, Arrah, and Patna; that is to say, below Benares, and even in the peaceful districts of Lower Bengal.

"The condition of the country," the Governor-General wrote to the President of the Board of Control, "about Allahabad and Benares, where we are recovering our own, but where every man is acting after his own fashion and under no single authority nearer than Calcutta, has made it necessary to put some one in the temporary position of Lieutenant-Governor; all communication between Agra and

those districts being indefinitely cut off. There is no man in whose capacity for the task of re-establishing order I have so much confidence in as Mr Grant, and certainly none who will act more in harmony with the military authorities. I have therefore sent Mr Grant there in the character of Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces. He will exercise precisely the powers which Mr Colvin would exercise if the latter were not shut up in Agra, without means of communicating with those parts of his government, and this will continue till Mr Colvin is set free."

Sir John Kaye, at page 191 of the third volume of his "History of the Sepoy War," has made some remarks to the point. The historian, while commenting on the departure to the Upper Provinces of Sir James Outram and Grant, writes of the last named, that—

"His great abilities had not, up to this time, been much tested in situations of exceptional responsibility, demanding from him strenuous action in strange circumstances. But although his antecedents, and to some extent, indeed, his habits, fitted him rather for the performance of sedentary duties, as Secretary or Councillor, there was a fund of latent energy in him, and he was eager for more active employment than could be found for him in Calcutta. When, therefore, the state of affairs in the Upper and Central Provinces was seen to be such as to require closer supervision and more vigorous control than could be exercised in such a conjunction by the existing local authorities, and Lord Canning determined to despatch a trusted officer of

high rank with a special commission to the disturbed district beyond the limits of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, he found Mr Grant quite prepared to undertake the work at any sacrifice to self, and to proceed at once to the scene of action."

It was obvious that Lord Canning could not himself leave Calcutta, and the position of public affairs, at this crisis, proved beyond any doubt or question the paramount necessity of retaining for the seat of Government an easy and rapid communication with the seaboard. From this point of view alone the Governor-General can only reside permanently at one of two places—Calcutta or Bombay. It has been thought possible to localise the supreme and central authority at Nasik in the Bombay Presidency, or at Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. Experience has dispelled these illusions. Simla may, of course, like Ecbatana in the Persian Empire, be the summer residence of the Viceroy. But in times of war or rebellion there must be close communication with the coast.

Grant left Calcutta by steamer on the 7th August, and assumed what was termed the Government of the Central Provinces at Benares about the last days of August. He remained at the Holy City



till the end of December, and then spent a month at Allahabad. Lord Canning, by that time, was enabled to leave the Presidency and to direct the affairs of the North-West Provinces on the spot; so Grant's Special Commission came to an end, and he returned to his seat in the Supreme Council. This brief historical retrospect is a necessary introduction to explain the line taken by Grant in preserving tranquillity, restoring order, and regaining what we had lost; and above all, in keeping up communication on the Grand Trunk Road with Allahabad, as well as with the Lower Provinces. My sources of information, besides Blue Books, Histories, and published papers, are supplied by a volume of demi-official letters which have never been published, and of which copies were carefully taken at the time. It should be noticed that the border line of Grant's authority was occasionally difficult to define with precision. For instance, Captain Willoughby Osborne, the political agent at Rewah, one of the Bundelkhand States, was under the orders of the Governor-General in the Foreign Department, yet during the weeks that this gallant officer remained at his post, cut off from friends and beleaguered by enemies, open or concealed, the only authority

with which he could hold communication was the Government of the Central Provinces.

It was surmised in some quarters that friction was likely to occur between a civilian Lieutenant-Governor and the various military officers in charge of mixed bodies of troops; jealous of interference, and not unnaturally disposed to think that men wearing black coats were rather out of place, and unlikely to give much useful aid or advice. But no such mischief resulted from the course followed by Grant. Though the exact spot where political considerations ended and strategy had to begin, was not easy to hit, Grant kept in touch and harmony with colonels and captains of different views and idiosyncrasies; and no difficulty arose between him and Sir Colin Campbell, the Commander-in-Chief, who, like William III., according to Macaulay, was prone to regard the uncalled-for advice and intrusion of gowmsmen with "more than the disgust ordinarily felt by soldiers on such occasions."

During his progress up the Ganges the steamer touched, besides other stations, at Monghyr, Patna, Dinapur, and Ghazipur; and Grant kept Lord Canning fully informed of everything that occurred, and gave his own views and those of Outram on precautionary measures and apprehended difficulties.

Gunboats manned by sailors might be distributed along the river. The Commander-in-Chief doubted whether Madras Sepoys would be of much use without English troops to lead them. Irregulars accompanying the Commissioner, Mr George Yule, had behaved very well. Gurkhas would not cover more than six miles in a day's march. The abandonment of Gorakhpur was very unfortunate, and it might have been preserved by three thousand Gurkhas who were available for the duty. An energetic planter who offered his services must, Grant wrote, "be a Government servant" if the offer were accepted, but he could not be allowed to fight for his own hand, like the Gow Chrom in the "Fair Maid of Perth"; and more to the same effect. Soon after the arrival at Benares the correspondence took a wider range. To H. C. Tucker, after a forcible seizure of coal, he wrote that if coals were wanted for river steamers, the individual owning them must be paid the full price for the article. If any magistrate was not up to "rough and very difficult work," he would very soon be replaced by some one who was.

To the same Commissioner he writes for information about the beheading of sixty-eight persons in one village, adding that he will hold the magistrates

responsible for all burnings and slaughterings not done in battle. That portions of mutinous strongholds were levelled was all very right, but it was absurd to sow the ground with salt. Mr Samuells, the just and energetic Commissioner of Patna, is informed that he will soon have 200 English soldiers, who ought to make the station of Chapra quite secure. Then follow comments on some soldiers of Her Majesty's fighting 10th Regiment, who began by attacking the natives, and ended by pulling a major out of his buggy because, they said, he had spoken ill of their corps. A magistrate was allowed to raise 100 Sowars if he thought that they could be turned into a body of fighting police. One Hingan Khan, a Muhammadan, who had behaved well and deserved much, would be better rewarded by a jagir or rent-free life tenure of land than by a pension in money. If it was right to cut off the sixty-eight heads alluded to in a previous letter, it could hardly be right now to pardon everyone who had still his head on his shoulders. The raising of a new corps of native Christians is deprecated for what appears a very sound reason. On this side of India they were too few in number to be of real military importance, and yet just sufficient to expose us to misconception, and to make enlist-

ment in the police unpopular with the ordinary Muhammadan and Hindu. The most absurd and improbable stories were finding credence at that time, and anything like a marked division of creeds was sure to add to the difficulty of division of races. It seemed to Grant the highest policy to raise no new question of religion, because prudent men should beware "of novelties into which this element enters." The general rule for the guidance of executive officers was severity and sharpness with the guilty, and mildness and encouragement with the innocent; and in all cases, discrimination. Such a matter as the formal reception of native noblemen and gentlemen was not overlooked when the tide was turning in our favour; and it was suggested to the Commissioner who was to hold the Durbar, that a better political effect would be produced by the reception of two Nepal princes and the Raja of Benares, on two separate days, as loyal friends to Government, than by a general levee at which all and sundry could be present, and which would be sure to raise inconvenient questions of relative precedence and rank. Praise is awarded to an officer who had stuck to a post where his presence was required, and where he might be of use, and who had sent away those whose presence was not required, and who might be incum-

branches. In writing to a Political Agent at a small Principality, he conceals his meaning by transliterating his English into the Greek character. This composition might not, perhaps, satisfy a pundit or a Board of Examiners, but it doubtless had the effect of not letting a native know that, just then, not a single English soldier could be spared. One district official, who had been warned that he must look into his Intelligence Department, was consoled by being told that a similar warning had been sent to the Head of a neighbouring district. The employment of active and well-paid natives might prevent credence being given to reports which either exaggerated or minimised the numbers of the plunderers and mutineers. The Foreign Secretaryship at that period was filled by Mr G. F. Edmonstone, a man of high character and attainments, who had done some excellent work in the Punjab; and he is told, "If you give me an order which is meant to look pretty but not to be enforced, then, unless you give me a wink at the same time, we shall both come to grief." To the Viceroy it is suggested that we should make a good parade of our troops, and not in a mere technical sense. It is necessary that the natives should see English soldiers in masses, and not merely hear about them. "They believe nothing they don't see. They will not credit

the fall of Delhi, and they know that we have come away from Lucknow." Native folly and incapacity luckily took another direction. A Subahdar or Naik, with dash or daring, might have cut the wires between Allahabad and Benares, and blown up the bridge at the former place; and even though, "by delays and other causes, we had given," Grant said, "long odds to the cowardice and folly of our adversaries, it was twenty to one we did not lose in the end." More than once did Grant, like others at that time, remark on the non-appearance in Oudh and the Doab of any single leader of marked merit. Such a one, with vast numbers of trained Sepoys at his disposal, might have besieged Allahabad, captured Benares, and raided on Behar. But, in this tract at least, there was no *fatalis dux*, though many a *dux turbidus* set our Adria in commotion. Koer Sing in Gaya, Tantia Topi, the weaver-artillery-man in Central India, the Rani of Jhansi, and the well-known Maulavi, did show some evidence of strategy, and gave much trouble till they were put down. But the mutiny gave birth neither to a Sivaji nor to a Hyder Ali. The days of "rugging and reiving" had returned. But military native genius, happily, had been crushed out by our rule, though the Sikh, the Gurkha, and the Pathan were and are as ready as

ever to follow where the English officer cleared the way.

There are divers remarks and suggestions of a similar kind in the correspondence which went on unceasingly with Commissioners and Magistrates ; and in all such matters Grant wrote from a position of distinct and recognised authority. Zeal had to be moderated. Vigorous efforts, apt to extend themselves in a wrong direction, had to be directed towards practical and possible ends. Harmonious co-operation was pointedly enjoined, and occasionally warnings were given to subordinates who neglected their own duties and meddled with operations entrusted to others at a distance. But on the whole, Grant was very well served by the civilians of the North - West Provinces, and I have found no instances of defiance, disobedience of orders, or irreparable mistakes. That in such a crisis, with administration rudely interrupted or at an end, there should be some diversity of opinion, was to be expected, nor did thousands always flee at the rebuke of one man. Still, it was happily remarked by one historian of the Mutiny, that our supremacy in India was justified by the final result." We put down the rebellion, because we had a right to be there.



At that period the Punjab was separated from the Lower Provinces by an impassable gulf, and the communications of Lawrence with the Viceroy on several occasions were carried on by the Valley of the Indus, and by Sind and Bombay. Grant had occasion to ask the opinion of John Lawrence as to the best mode of recruiting the native regiments, so as to avoid the previous mistakes which had fostered disloyalty and intrigues. It is almost needless to say that even among military experts, few could be found whose opinions on such a point were more worthy of attention than the Civil Ruler of the Punjab; and as there was a slight difference of opinion between Grant and Lawrence on the recruiting question, it is as well to quote a large portion of Grant's letter. It shows how cautiously the writer proceeded when discussing such a subject with one whose knowledge of the Punjab was second to none. On the 7th of September Grant had written to Lawrence, informing him that a Sikh of distinction had been appointed Commandant of a police corps for the Central Provinces, modelled on the Punjab Police; and asking if a thousand Sikhs could be sent down from that Province. In this letter Grant hazarded the opinion that mixed corps

or regiments, composed, say, of Pathans, Brahmans, and Hindostanis, had been failures, and that what was wanted were corps composed of separate castes. To this Lawrence had sent a reply, drawing attention to three points, which Grant discussed in the following friendly language, in a letter of 30th October :—

“As to —, I am sorry that the appointment is not thought wise by you, than whom none know better what is prudent and imprudent in regard to the great Punjab families. It was not suspected in Calcutta that you would have a special objection to the family, if serving away from the frontier. Edmonstone was entirely in favour of the appointment. I do not expect that — will set the Indus on fire, and he will have less chance with the Ganges. At this distance he could hardly play us a trick if he wished to do so; however this may be, the deed is done. It was impossible to consult you by post beforehand.

“I entirely agree with you as to the necessity of caution, lest we overdo the raising of the Sikhs. After the lesson the Hindostani family has given us, it would be madness to put ourselves in the power of any other military family. But though I think this a very practical question with you in the Punjab, where you have an immense mass of Sikh soldiers collected, it does not seem to me a practical question with us here, where we have hardly any, and where it is only proposed to employ, comparatively, a very small number. Indeed, in the way I look at the question, it should on your principle, in which I fully concur, be a

prudent measure of precaution to transfer some of your excessive proportion of Sikhs to this place, and elsewhere, at a great distance, where the proportion of the same class is, and will be, smaller. In these Central Province divisions, viz. Benares, Allahabad, and Sagar, there will certainly be hereafter not less than seven European regiments with European artillery. I think it will be quite safe to have, in the same provinces, three Sikh regiments without artillery. It seems to me that if the number of Sikhs, on the whole, and in every province, are decidedly less than half the number of Europeans (including amongst Sikhs both police and military corps), we shall obtain the high military qualities of that race, as well as that of their hatred of Hindostanis, without running any risk whatever. Indeed, though the sentiment may sound strangely now, I think it possible that occasions may arise when we shall be very glad to have in India some moderate proportion of real soldiers, not Europeans. Unless we commit the old folly of officering these native regiments as if they were Grenadier Guards, such regiments will be, at all times, a real saving, and the great inconvenience of having no native troops is at this moment patent to us. In all this you will not differ. Now as yet, instead of three, I only know of two Sikh corps contemplated here: local police corps and the general military corps, which I understand is to be raised at Allahabad. On reading your list of your Sikh force, I am inclined to think it is already too large, and that it might be gradually reduced. But I do not see why we should not have our share of them here. As to your third point, I am afraid I differ from you, though, after explanation, perhaps you will not think my idea fundamentally different from your own. We both re-

nounce the old notion of one mixture, of which the whole army is to be composed. I recommend a variety of sorts, each regiment being composed of one sort of men. You, I infer, recommend all regiments to be of one sort, each to be composed of different sorts of companies, every company being composed of one sort of men. I adhere to my preference, in general, to the principle of different sorts of regiments, but I will not inflict a discussion on you. Only, I will say that if you and I were talking the matter over, I believe we should finish with very little difference of opinion. I am ready to have some sorts of regiments composed of a variety of sorts of companies, though I should prefer it otherwise, because I think the more separate we can keep the several races and classes of soldiers, the less likely we are to have any large portion of our army subject, at one and the same time, to one and the same quasi-mesmeric influence. For my present purpose there can be no objection to having one police corps composed of one class of foreigners. Composed of Sikhs, it will be unique, and cannot be mischievous. I see from a note of poor Colvin, written to George Campbell a month before his death, that he was alive (as I am) to the risk of Punjabi Muhammadans, after being some time in Hindostan, forgetting their Punjabi qualities and becoming mere Muhammadans. Oddly enough, since I received your letter, three Punjabi Muhammadans deserted from the Ludiana Sikhs, and set off to fight for *Din* (the faith). They had money, but no arms or uniform. . . :

"Then there is the case of a plot at Allahabad, in which Punjabi Muhammadans were concerned, with Hindostani Muhammadan conspirators. The end of this is, I should prefer none but Sikhs and Hill Rajputs, and even this

mixture I take in the hope of making two regiments of them eventually. After we are supplied with a moderate proportion of Sikhs, we should still have plenty of employment for the other classes you point out ; for we must have a considerable proportion of native Irregulars, and we must have organised police forces in considerable number. It is very uphill work, but I am doing all I can in the way of experiment. My one rule is to have neither Pandy nor Pandy's cousins ; with that one restriction, I am open to all comers. At Benares, I am raising a small police levy of the middle class, commencing just below *ahirs*, who are Pandys, and troublesome ones. I have about 300, the levy being fixed at 400 and odd ; little fellows, and not strong, and not as yet promising, but I am confident that we shall get better men when the people see the thing is really intended. At Fatehpur, we are raising an auxiliary temporary police force of *Lodies*, chiefly under a rich *Lodi* Zamindar. Mayne, of Gopiganj, is raising a police force of impure castes. Captain Bruce at Cawnpore has had real success with Sweepers. On the Juanpur frontier we are subsidising friendly Zamindars, each of whom brings a hundred of his own men as an auxiliary fighting police. The pressure for fighting men who are practically available for the protection of life and liberty, not to speak of revenue where military honours are not to be gained, is so extreme, that you need not fear our being over nice. Pray, therefore, as fast as possible, send me 1000 Sikhs and Hill Rajputs for my police corps. If you can send men already trained in your levies it would be a great advantage, and if a bonus will induce such men to come, it will be well bestowed. Can you send me, as a loan or otherwise, two infantry Punjabi levy corps here

for present service, and about 400 cavalry? The road will be clear enough." \*

This interchange of ideas between two men of widely different experience and administrative training can hardly fail to be interesting. Grant's views as to the policy to be pursued in keeping open communication, and recovering our lost ground, appear sound and politic. More than once he strongly deprecates every attempt to recapture Stations which had been once lost, unless it was quite certain that they could be permanently held. To re-occupy a town or district with a moderate force, and then to be com-

\* It is just as well to describe the system under which the native regiments are now recruited. After the Mutiny there was, not unnaturally, a dislike to have too many Pandys, as they were called, collected together. From information kindly supplied by the authorities of the India Office, the following is the present composition of our Native Army in India.

With a very few exceptions, all the Cavalry of the Indian Army is class squadron : two troops of one class in a regiment of 8 troops. Of the 60 regiments in Bengal only 20 are class company corps. Of 33 regiments in Madras all but one are class company, and so are the whole of 29 regiments in Bombay and 6 in Hyderabad. Thus there are 87 class company regiments of Indian Infantry, and 41 class regiments, and of these 41 regiments 12 are composed of Gurkhas.

Practically, all the Cavalry and Infantry of the Native Army are now organised either as class regiments, or on the class squadron or troop or company system. Most of the Bengal and Panjab Infantry Regiments fall into the former category. The remainder of the Army fall into the latter, with one or two exceptions. Some of the cavalry squadrons are split into halves.

pelled once more to abandon it, would do more harm than the original loss. The captured station, the plundered treasury, the ruined houses, the chaotic district, might be left till we had force sufficient to set up once more the civil administration, complete, permanent, and stable. Some civilians were for making rapid raids, with a small military force, into the interior of districts bordering on the Grand Trunk Road, to disperse bands of Sepoys or insurgents. The Lieutenant-Governor's answer was that the primary consideration must be the retention of the high roads for the passage of troops and supplies, and that the dispersion of armed bodies, unless they threatened the line itself, was comparatively of small importance. I have already intimated that Grant was most careful to leave the execution of any plan, suggested and recommended—to the discretion of the officer in command of each detachment, whoever he might be; and how this was effected can only be shown by extracts from the correspondence. To Lord Canning, he ventured, without so much as one word of disapproval of the Commander-in-Chief's strict and excellent orders against distant and military expeditions, to express an opinion that the force occupying the fort at Allahabad might be quite equal to secure such a position

against any force short of an army with siege guns, and also to detach a movable body sufficient to clear the neighbourhood of the fort and town, returning within a fixed number of days and hours. Two hundred and fifty men, Sikhs and Englishmen, might surely, he thought, prevent the intrusion into the district of any adventurer from Oudh who chose to take a number of villages in the Doab and call them his own. And it would be a military as well as a civil disgrace if a set of Peons or orderlies were to cut the communications between Calcutta and Allahabad within sight of the Fort. Sir Colin Campbell's orders alluded to were surely never intended to prevent our dispersing such a rabble by a good rush and a well-planned sally. There was a question how to treat some 250 Sepoys who had stuck to their officers when the rest of the regiment had mutinied, but whose loyalty had to some extent given way after a longer trial. Grant writes to Colonel Gordon that such men should not be harshly treated, and that to deprive them of their arms would be contrary to the wishes of Sir James Outram and the Governor-General. Could not these men be sent somewhere out of temptation's way? And then Grant adds pointedly: "Clearly, I have no right to interfere.



If I think a regiment with arms dangerous to the peace of the country, I may go a great way in recommending a measure of precaution. But if a military man desires to take a precautionary measure with a military levy, I have no right to interfere." Colonel Otter, a distinguished and very capable officer, had arrived at Allahabad to command the force there, but discovered, to his dismay, that such a command would entail the abandonment of his post as Assistant Adjutant-General. Grant could not take on himself to ask the Commander-in-Chief to allow Colonel Otter to hold both appointments for a few months, but he urges the Viceroy to see if this could not be arranged, as the Military Chief "should be a man with a good head." Though Sir Colin Campbell did not see his way to adopting the suggestion, Grant hastens to assure him that it was impossible "not to recognise the perfect soundness and wisdom of your Excellency's conclusions on the larger considerations which you have been so obliging as to point out."

Colonel Wroughton, who was to command a combined force of Queen's soldiers and of Gurkhas from Nepal, under Colonel Pahlwan Sing, is asked to take with him "three regiments to Jhusa, leaving 'one' at Juanpur," and he is informed that much importance is attached to

clearing off the insurgents, and recovering a part of the Allahabad district up to the Oudh frontier. "You must be aware of the urgent want of troops in advance; nevertheless, the Commander-in-Chief has concluded that to clear off the rabble which threatens our communications is a primary object. To make this a complete affair, his Excellency looks for the co-operation of the Gurkhas, and I am confident that no want of exertion on your part and that of Colonel Pahlwan Sing will be wanting. You can tell them that the 93rd are brother-Highlanders. I believe they have brought their kilts." To Captain, afterwards Sir William Peel, Grant suggests that, as the Gurkhas have two good guns, and a nice little Howitzer, it would be a great favour if sailors or others could be spared to work them, as no real artillery men had come from Nepal. "I mention this without, in the least, knowing whether it can properly be done. The Gurkhas are extremely brave little fellows, and are great at a rush, when they use their kookeries (knives) in a very ugly manner. They say, however, they are hard to keep in hand. I trust that the opposition Lieutenant-Governor will stand to be made an example of. It is not yet quite cool enough for Gurkhas

who are more tender in the sun than seasoned Europeans. They will be knocked up, many of them, on a long day. This I think makes a body of Sikhs, who stand anything, desirable supports to Europeans, but you are the judge of this." About the Madras Sepoys, the Viceroy is informed that Captain Pinkney, an officer of "ability and sound sense," was somewhat doubtful of their fighting powers when opposed to revolted Bengal Sepoys. The best plan would be, to send the Madrassees with some supports of English and others, and guns, through Rewah to the Sagar and Narbada territories, where they could secure the road to Bombay, punish rebellious, and support and encourage loyal chiefs.

The second subject of Captain Pinkney's letter, Grant tells the Viceroy, is confidential. "I can vouch for the truthfulness and public spirit of the writer. Your Lordship should see what is said of ——. I have always known him for one of the most offensive, quarrelsome, and ill-conditioned men going, but I don't know anything more about him."

To Sir W. Mansfield, who was then the Commander-in-Chief's right-hand man, Grant gives an account of an affair in which the

Gurkhas suffered a loss of 12 killed and 49 wounded. "The enemy had many mutineer Sepoys amongst their infantry, and their guns were well served by mutineer artillerymen, who were cut down at their guns. The Gurkhas, never having stood before well-served guns until this occasion, are very sulky, and say they will not fight again unless supported by Europeans. Depend upon it, Sir Colin has no cause to regret the little force he was so considerate as to allot to the frontier. Colonel Longden has not arrived one day too soon. He will march to the frontier to put the Juanpur Gurkhas there into spirits again, and then probably along the frontier to Azamgarh, where another attack is threatened; and I have no doubt the sight of the 10th will efface the recollection of the 12-pounders."

Colonel Bushe, who was about to leave the station of Ghazipur, is asked if he could not postpone his departure for a few days.

"I presume that your orders are not so peremptory, and that your presence with the Gurkhas is not so pressing as to disable you from a compliance with this request. I find that a very uneasy feeling exists at Ghazipur, both among the civil officers and the native population, in

regard to the men of your regiment—not, I fancy, with much special reference to the individuals, but with reference to the general body of which they form a part. I find, too, that your ability to keep them to their duty is universally spoken of in the highest terms, and I may say, in confidence, I am told that the reliance which is felt in you by the unmilitary public, whose safety more or less depends on the conduct of your men, will no longer be felt if the command is left to the chapter of accidents.” And in a letter written to the Viceroy at the same time, and on the same subject, Grant goes over the same ground as to the uneasy feeling of the residents of Ghazipur, and says that the incapacity of the officer on whom the command of the station would devolve in the absence of Colonel Bushe was “notorious and unquestionable.” And he then adds that nothing short of the general disarmament of the 65th Native Infantry, “who were supposed to have an eye to the Treasury, would satisfy the reasonable and well-disposed residents, if Colonel Bushe were allowed to leave.”

Colonel Longden is commended for “his admirable judgment in not having thrown away the lives of the few Europeans” for no adequate

result, and for not having gone out of his way to attack some insurgents at Chanda in their own position, considering their strength in men and guns. "They do us no harm as long as they stay there. It is an object with us to put off time so long as we can keep our own districts from injury. Luckily for us, the enemy, whose object ought to be the reverse, don't know the value of time to either party." The policy in all these incidents was not to advance if there were any risk of falling back. Congratulations to Sir Colin Campbell on the final relief of the Lucknow garrison in November are coupled with a hope that Outram would be able to hold his own at the Alumbagh, just outside the city. It is well known that this gallant officer did keep his position in an entrenched camp, until the return of the Commander-in-Chief with an overwhelming force in March 1858.

To a Brigadier he writes that he has provided for the accommodation of a good many wounded men, and that he has ordered a plan of a spring ambulance cart to hold two men, to be sent for his approval and for any suggestions. The cart was to cost 200 rupees, but would effect a saving in the end. Complaints had been made, rather hastily in some

quarters, that Civil Government did not promptly follow the establishment of military power at Cawnpore; and this was so late as the 26th of December. This complaint forced Grant to explain matters to Sir Colin in the following measured but candid language :—

“ I hope your Excellency will not think me inconsiderate. I knew that your military means are limited, and that until the great wants are supplied the smaller must wait. But, in justice to the civil officers, it must be remembered that they have, and can retain at this moment, no fighting police —no man who will stand against insurgents in arms; they can only look for support to the regular troops. Therefore, until there has been a demonstration by a military party, however small, through every part of the district, punishing bad villages, dispersing all parties in arms, and elsewhere supporting the Magistrates in seizing strong criminals and mutineers lying in their own villages, and encouraging the well-affected, nothing really effective in the way of civil reorganisation can be expected of a Magistrate, however able and zealous, in districts which have been so long in the enemy's hands as Cawnpore, Futtehpur, and part of Allahabad. On this frontier of Oudh all is now abundantly secure, thanks to your Excellency's reinforcements. Indeed, for defensive operations, which are all we are concerned with, the force must be admitted to be more than enough. If a regiment is wanted, I am pretty sure that General Franks will be able to spare one.”

And then General Franks is offered the services

of two or three civilians to assist his soldiers in civil business — “ Mr Jenkinson, a very energetic young fellow, who has done great things in getting native Sowars together, Mr F. O. Mayne, an excellent and most active officer who knows every village in that tract,” and one or two others. At the same time, the General is informed that at the end of December 1857, there is still “ an enemy’s picket within three miles of Allahabad, though the mutineers prudently keep the other side of the river.” And at the beginning of the next year a Nawab Nazim, as he styled himself, had “ just in homage, treated the Fort to a serenade of an hour and a half.” However, within a week Grant was enabled to inform General Franks of a raid, admirably managed by Brigadier Campbell, in which 300 of the enemy were killed, with, on our side, one man killed and four or five wounded. This was owing entirely to having the Sowars in the first part of the day, and a few horse artillery as cavalry in the last part. “ It shows what the effect of a mere handful of cavalry is with these runaway fellows.” By another letter about this date, written to Edmonstone, the Foreign Secretary, General Franks is described as clearly understanding himself and Pahlwan Sing, the Commander of the Gurkhas, to be ostensibly in



the same position as Lord Raglan and Marshal Canrobert. Then Jung Bahadur objects to his Gurkhas being on the two flanks in camp and in the field, very much as the Chief of the Macdonalds at Culloden objected to the position assigned to his clan in the army of the Pretender. It would be very easy to give more extracts from this correspondence with military men, but I must close this part of the subject with Grant's emphatic declaration in a letter to the Viceroy, that "since his arrival at Benares he had not had the slightest approach to a difference with any military officer, in any position, anywhere."

Grant's treatment of one other matter at this crisis cannot be passed over. He was anxious about sufficient provision for carriage, transport, and supplies. At an early stage the paramount necessity of feeding and transporting a large force had his constant care. In September 1857 a Commissioner of Division is told to consider means, difficulties, and prospects, and his subordinates are warned against seizing grain and bullock carts by force, instead of paying for them at once. "This is the way to drive grain into Oudh." And a few days afterwards Grant, in a letter to Lord Canning, expressed a fear that "neither the Commissariat nor the civil officers have their eyes open to what is really before them."

“Within a month or six weeks about ten times the number of Europeans that of late years has ever been at one time in the North-West Provinces, may be expected to pass through this part of the country.” On the question of supplies, he writes to the Commander-in-Chief:—

“I have been long attending to the terribly important business of carriage and supplies for the immense European force that will pass this way in the course of the coming season, a duty which always falls, in practice, on the Civil Department. The result is, that I believe that it will be enough to start in December with a stock of food for man and beast, calculated for two months’ supply of 24,000 men. We shall be able to do it as to food and all country articles. Groceries and shop stores are wholly in the hands of the Commissariat. I venture to suggest an early looking after this, for, to my mind, it appears as if the stock was nothing at all. For carriage I can promise fully enough for 20,000 men. But then for stores, guns, engineering parks, there will be little left. Yet I think we may expect all that may be wanting to be supplied from the country ahead as it gradually opens, and from the Bengal carriage of such of the troops as must be marched up here. On the whole, since I completed my calculations, I felt easier on this head than I felt before. . . Within the Oudh frontier appearances appear to indicate that the Regulars—that is the mutineers and the retainers of the chief men against us—have been recalled into the interior. For the moment the rabble only are left to trouble us.”

The same fears are shown, and the same activity

and exertions are enjoined on soldiers and civilians all through the autumn. Eight hundred carts might perhaps suffice for two English regiments, and a few elephants and camels and bullocks might enable such a force to move with a couple of batteries; and at repeated intervals similar warnings are dealt all round. One thousand *hackeries* (bullock carts) had been supplied at Benares. Does Sir James Outram's column for the relief of Lucknow procure its own fodder as it moves onward? Can one bullock, elsewhere, be found for every soldier? Will Captain Osborne send carriage as well as sheep from Rewah? The Commander-in-Chief may rely on it that, by December, he will have a stock of food for man and beast, for 24,000 troops, to last two whole months. There would be no use in numbering separately the carts furnished by each district. They are all for the use of Government, to be paid for under one list, and under one set of numbers. Evidently, this was not the time to multiply the forms, headings, and statistics so precious to the official mind. Sir William Mansfield may be sure of having the number of 2000 carts which had been promised him, and they will be sent on at the rate of 200 a day.

The system of supply thus organised by Grant was maintained after his departure by the Commissioners and District Officers, whose strenuous exertions to meet the wants of the troops pouring along the Grand Trunk Road to the relief of Lucknow were completely successful. How considerable was the effort this involved will be understood, when it is stated that, in the end, a larger force was under the command of Lord Clyde for the final conquest of Lucknow than what had enabled Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough to drive the Sikh and Akali in headlong rout across the Sutlej; and four years afterwards was sufficient for Lord Gough to end the second Punjab campaign by the crowning victory of Gujarat. In illustration I give the following statistics, kindly furnished me by a military officer of high position and of great experience. In round numbers, Sir Colin had under his command, at the capture of Lucknow in March 1858, 31,000 troops of all sorts—British, Native Army, Naval Brigade (nearly 500), and Nepalese (6000 to 7000) with a total of 164 guns, including in this total, mortars, siege guns, etc. Of the Nepalese troops, some 5000, under Jung Bahadur, did not reach camp till the attack had gone on for

four days, was fully developed, and was nigh conclusion.

At Sobraon, Lord Gough's force was 17,000 strong, with 75 to 80 guns.

At Gujarat he had 25,000 and about 75 guns; rather more than less.

Only one other episode of this trying period remains for notice.

It had been gravely stated in several newspapers published in England, that 150 of the Cawnpore mutineers and rebels, seized by General Neill on his march, had been pardoned and set at liberty by the Lieutenant-Governor; and some English papers went on to say that the same authority had punished with death some English soldiers who had assaulted the mutineers. For this story there was not even the slender foundation which, in troublous times, now and then induces an excited and bewildered community to lend an ear to reports discreditable to the English character and name. Not one mutineer had been captured by General Neill. No one had been pardoned by Grant; nothing of the kind had happened anywhere. Grant had had no correspondence with the General on any one subject; had never criticised any one of his measures; and

had never spoken of Neill, alive or dead, but with the admiration for his soldierly qualities which he had always felt. The author of this contemptible and mischievous lie was never discovered, and in India men first heard of it on the arrival of the English mail. History, or pseudo-history, it has often been said, repeats itself at critical periods. The exploded fiction of the Cawnpore mutineers has not prevented slanderous calumnies about our soldiers in the Soudan.

With the preparations for the relief of Lucknow as far as Civil Administration could be of use, the residence at Benares and Allahabad comes to an end. Lord Canning takes up his quarters in the house occupied by the Lieutenant-Governor, which had been made fairly comfortable by an engineer officer. "It is large and comfortable, but will only accommodate two of your staff (four of us live in it, however), so that tents must be pitched for the rest." The house, it was believed, was the property of some man in Lucknow, probably in rebellion, and would be liable to be confiscated. The agent who received the rent for the absent man had prudently absconded; so with a mixture of judicious policy and equity,

the Commissioner was devoting a part of the rent to repairs, and retaining the balance of 120 rupees for the person entitled to the same, if he should ever claim it.

## CHAPTER V

THE experiences of civil servants at this epoch in Indian annals were novel and tragic. Some district officers were slain at their posts. Others remained at their several Stations as long as there was the least hope that the Treasury would not be plundered and the convicts would not be released from jail. It was Grant's duty to take up a position on the very border line between administration and anarchy. On one side river communication with the Presidency was never interrupted, and with now and then an exception, the Grand Trunk Road to the Lower Provinces was clear. On the other, it was not safe to go two miles into the interior. To say that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces was, at any time, in a perilous position resembling that of the Commissioners of Rohilkhand and of Meerut, would be an exaggeration. Still it will



probably be admitted, that to live, for four months, in a city inhabited by 300,000 Hindus, liable to outbursts of religious fanaticism and to the contagion of evil example, was to encounter a certain risk. Grant's letters, public and private, as I have said, sufficiently indicate what might have been done in the way of disturbance by a Sepoy General of "light and leading." The Lieutenant-Governor and his small staff were not exactly sheathed in armour. They did not lay down to rest in their corslets, nor did they carve their meat in gloves of steel; but they had to be prepared for emergencies and dangers, and their revolvers lay ready when they took that evening drive with which the Anglo-Indian Administrator, in cold, hot, or rainy season, almost invariably ends his exhausting day's task. Grant left Allahabad, having done much to restore order, to revive the loyalty of the wavering, and to provide for the necessities of the relieving force, while in his relations with military chiefs he never for a moment laid himself open to the sarcastic reproof administered by the Carthaginian General to the Greek pedant who lectured him on the art of war.

When Grant resumed his seat in Council in Calcutta, in the hot weather of 1858, the neck of

the Mutiny, to use the common phrase of that day, had been broken by the final conquest of Lucknow. The aspect of affairs was not afterwards materially altered even by the mutiny of the Gwalior troops in the middle of the year. It is quite true that this unexpected revolt caused more trouble and anxiety, but it is quite a mistake to suppose that it again shook the Indian Empire to its foundation, or caused any one in India to entertain a doubt of our final success. In May of this year Grant, at Calcutta, was, however, troubled by the proximity of Barrackpore and its disarmed Sepoys, by an uneasy feeling prevalent in Calcutta and the metropolitan districts, by reports of diverse new intrigues and conspiracies and of arms hidden in Bengal villages, ostensibly quiet and well disposed, and by a not unnatural fear that native confidence in our ultimate triumph might not be proof against a prolonged suspense and the hope delayed which, proverbially, makes the heart sick. Thus Grant was in constant correspondence with Sir John Hearsey, commanding the Presidency Division; with Mr H. D. Hamilton-Fergusson, the able Magistrate of the important district comprising the Calcutta suburbs and Barrackpore; and with Colonel Orfeur Cavanagh, who, under the old and curious designation of Town

Major, was really the highest military authority inside the Fort. It should be remembered that, for many years, the Governor-General of India was also Governor of Fort-William, and the Town Major who lived there as his Deputy, was not in any way under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. All this is altered now. During this year, moreover, the large, populous, districts in Central and Lower Bengal were alarmed by a report that originated, no one knew where, and spread widely, no one could say how, to the effect that in "three months' time one white thing would no longer be seen." To what the rumour pointed no one could be sure. Divers interpretations were given. Some said it meant "flour," others that it pointed to "bones" or "salt," but the most probable interpretation was that it referred to the white faces of the Sahibs, who were doomed to disappear. In all likelihood, as far as could be made out, the report was designedly started in Behar and sent on to Lower Bengal in order to annoy the authorities, to perplex the well-disposed, and to prepare the way for disorganisation, disaster, and general "loot." However, no untoward event occurred. After a timely exhibition of vigour on the part of the executive and judicial authorities of

the populous and important district of Jessore, the rumour died away, and nothing more was heard about any "white thing." Two sedition-mongers were sentenced to transportation; the loyal Zamindars were reassured; the English planters scattered over the district at a distance from each other, felt secure; and the year passed without any fresh outbreak. If there ever had been any danger of a disturbance at the Presidency, nothing of the kind took place. Grant, in a letter to the Viceroy, while assuring him that there was no present likelihood of an interruption to the peace of the capital, added "that no man would dare to say that such a thing was impossible anywhere," and that "a street tumult in Calcutta would do more to shake the Empire than the loss of a battle in Oudh."

Fortunately, under the administration of Sir Frederick Halliday, the experienced Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, not a shot was fired in defence or attack in that province.

## CHAPTER VI

WHEN, in the spring of 1859, Sir Frederick Halliday resigned the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr Grant was chosen as his successor.

The new Penal Code, originating with Lord Macaulay and improved by generations of legislators, and the Code of Criminal Procedure, which was its natural corollary, about this time became law. Grant began his rule by improvements in gaol discipline, by an increase to the salaries of Native Judges in the Courts of first instance, by an improvement in the machinery for collecting the income-tax, a mode of taxation unfamiliar to Orientals and the source of no small amount of irritation, and by a broad and practical scheme for vernacular education, providing for new schools, and grants-in-aid to village institutions already in existence. Trouble had been caused by the in-

cursions of an aboriginal tribe known as the Garos, and by the Kookies on the Eastern Frontier of Bengal, and our relations with these very barbarous and uncivilised tribes were placed on a better footing.

But a great deal of the Lieutenant-Governor's time was taken up with what became known as the refusal of the ryots in Lower and Central Bengal to continue the cultivation of the indigo plant. And for the complete understanding of this subject, it is necessary to explain the process of the cultivation and manufacture of this valuable product. Planters and capitalists were usually Englishmen and Scotchmen, with here and there a Frenchman or foreigner, and they resided in the interior of one or other of the Gangetic districts, in a house and factory of their own. Occasionally the planter cultivated the indigo plant by his own servants, on lands which he had rented or acquired by purchase; but, in the majority of instances, he was in the habit of entering into contracts with the substantial tenant-proprietors, who took advances and agreed to deliver the plant at the factory at a fixed price for so many bundles. The manufacture, after the delivery of the raw material, was wholly in the hands of the planter and

his servants, and with the delivery of the plant, the contract on the part of the ryot was complete. But the cultivation of indigo was somewhat hampered by climatic and other conditions. The sowing, growing, and reaping in the Bengal districts had all to be done within three months, or certainly within one hundred days. It was not possible to put the seed into the ground before the spring showers that fell at the end of March or the beginning of April; and it was imperative that the plant should be cut and carried in the month of July, or at least before the colouring matter had suffered from the excessive downfall in the rainy season, or the inundation of the Ganges and of what are termed its distributaries, over a wide area. In theory it might appear that the tenant-proprietor should have been left to himself to fulfil his contract, and to make the best of his bargain in his own interests. In practice, however, this was not the case. The cultivating tenant was sometimes lazy and improvident, and was inclined to deceive; or he preferred weeding and cleaning his rice field to weeding the indigo plot. This, not unnaturally, led the planter and his assistants to interfere by supervision and remonstrance, and in proportion as the ryot was heedless or defiant,

the independent Englishman became more interfering and high-handed. The planters of those years did not originate the system ; they merely adopted, and perhaps extended, what had been devised by their predecessors at the beginning of this century. When, however, the ryots, in the spring of 1860, showed a disposition to revolt in a body, and when their complaints and alleged grievances attracted the notice of District Officers, a Commission was appointed to take evidence and report on the whole practice of contract, cultivation, and delivery. The Commission was composed of five members. Two belonged to the Civil Service ; one was a prominent merchant of Calcutta ; a fourth was a Baptist missionary ; and the fifth a Native gentleman of high caste and position.\* After a sitting of four months, and the consideration of a vast mass of oral and documentary evidence, the Commission reported that though, in several instances, the relations between planter and ryot had been friendly, and though the presence of independent Englishmen in the

\* The following gentlemen composed the Committee :—Mr, now Sir R. Temple ; Mr W. F. Fergusson, an eminent merchant ; the Rev. John Sale, Baptist Missionary ; Chandra Mohun Chatarji, a Brahman, and a nephew of Dwarkanath Tagore. The fifth member and President was W. S. Seton-Karr, the writer of this memoir. All the members had been chosen to represent the various interests connected with the subject.



interior of the country was a safeguard against abuse as well as an element of security in disturbance, yet that the system on which indigo was cultivated had broken down because it was, in the long run, unremunerative to the cultivator. He bore all the burden, and he reaped few of the advantages. It is not necessary to go further into this part of the subject. The English community, official and non-official, was still disturbed and agitated by the tragic incidents of the Sepoy Mutiny, and it was not easy to hold the balance evenly between native rights and English claims. But the crux of the whole situation was this. Simultaneously with the appointment of the Commission a law had been passed, to endure for six months, by which neglect on the ryot's part to complete his civil contract was to be treated as a criminal offence, punishable by fine or imprisonment in the Magistrate's Court. This was politic and excusable under the circumstances, in order to save the crop of that one year, and Grant himself had voted for the Bill. But the report naturally raised the question whether this temporary and exceptional enactment should take its place among the permanent Statutes of the Government. It was, no doubt, desirable to do something for the

English capitalist of 1861, who was apprehensive of loss under a system which he had never devised, and which, in several cases, he had tried to administer with kindness and equity. On the other hand, the proposal to convert the failure of a contract cognisable in the Civil Courts, into a criminal offence, was contrary to the policy which had regulated all such engagements in India or in any other country.

A fierce controversy arose over the proposed Bill. The claims of the Planters and of great mercantile houses in Calcutta were urged with much force in high and influential quarters; but while Mr Grant fully recognised the propriety of inducing men of energy to invest their money in commercial and industrial enterprise, he stated the objections to the Bill with such force and clearness, that Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, refused to turn the temporary Land Act into a permanent statute. At the end of six months it was allowed to expire.

The project has never been seriously revived, even when a contract law was considered by Lord Lawrence in 1864.

By his action in this controversy, Grant incurred great unpopularity with the unofficial

public, both in India and England, but he received the hearty support and approval of Sir C. Wood, who wrote to him as follows on 4th March 1861—

“I must write you a line to say with what satisfaction I have read your Minute on the Report of the Indigo Commission.

“It is a most able document, and completely establishes the case as between planter and ryot. I am sorry for the individual planters, who will suffer by the change of system, but that such a system should go on is quite impossible.

“Upon the whole, I think the conduct of the ryots is very commendable, and the scene, as you steamed down the river, must have been very curious and interesting.”

“Your order against violence on the part of the ryots is very judicious.”

Lord Canning also wrote to Grant at a previous date, 31st December 1860, from Camp Amarpathan, as follows:—

“I must say with what pleasure I have read your minute on the Indigo Commission. I never saw a better State paper, whether in matter, argument, or tone. It goes home just in time.”

It must not be thought, however, that the Lieutenant-Governorship was entirely taken up with the indigo controversy, and was barren of

other administrative results. These may be summed up briefly as follows :—

Much was done to facilitate intercourse and to expend judiciously the imperial and local resources in the construction of roads. Railways met with his earnest support, and civil engineers were delighted at the capacity for mastering the details of their business which the Lieutenant-Governor evinced. The improvement in gaols and gaol discipline went on with steadiness. Fresh rules were laid down for the examination of pleaders in the Civil Courts, and means taken to prescribe standard works for all candidates, and to have such works translated into the vernaculars. A great but important change in the Civil Courts of first instance was effected, by which, without increase of expenditure, superfluous officials were removed, and better salaries were given to the real doers of the work, who were receiving a remuneration wholly inadequate to their maintenance, whilst exposed to manifold temptations. The whole machinery for the imposition and collection of the income tax was organised, and the tax itself was collected with as little general discontent as was possible in the nature of things. Act X. of 1859, the Charter of the Agriculturists,

was improved, and a law for the extension of the Zamindari postal service was brought well-nigh to completion. Local resources, especially those raised for the conservancy and police of large towns, were husbanded, and the Lieutenant-Governor went on several of those tours of inspection which tend so much to the real despatch of business, and have the merit of making rulers and subjects acquainted with each other, to their mutual benefit. A broad and business-like scheme for vernacular education, capable of an expansion which has no limit but the wants of the people and the demands on the State purse, was submitted to the Government of India. It was approved, and has been extended by successive Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal.

In April, 1862, Grant left India, having previously been made a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, and for some years enjoyed a period of rest, varied by those occupations to which retired civilians are wont to give their attention and time. But in 1865 his services were suddenly required in one of our West Indian colonies.

## CHAPTER VII

**I**N 1866 Grant was appointed Governor of Jamaica. It would be invidious and unfair in a memoir like this to dwell at all on the causes which led to the rebellion in Jamaica, in October 1865, and the measures adopted for its suppression. Sir Henry Storks, Mr Russell Gurney, Recorder of London, and Mr J. B. Maule, Recorder of Leeds, had been nominated members of a Commission of Enquiry, and their conclusions may be found in their Report. Grant who, as stated, had been made a Knight Commander of the Bath shortly before his departure from India, was appointed Governor of this colony, and assumed charge of his office on the 5th of August 1866. Immediately after his arrival, he had to adopt measures of pacification and to introduce reforms which, practically, amounted to a complete revolution in the political and legal status of the Island. In the first place, a Representative Institution

which had existed for two centuries, was abolished. Its place was taken by a Legislative Council which, at the commencement, consisted of the Governor, six official, and three non-official members. This new body met for the first time on the 19th of October, and listened to a speech from its President, in which attention was requested to imperative financial and administrative reforms. It is not out of place to mention that, in that month, Grant had sent a despatch to Lord Carnarvon, dealing with the cases of such mutineers as had been sentenced to lengthy periods of imprisonment. In this document, while regretting that when the measures necessary for the restoration of peace had taken effect, every prisoner had not been tried by a Civil Judge, he recommended: First, that there should be no interference with the sentences passed on any one who had shown a murderous intent; Secondly, that in other cases there should be a reduction of imprisonment to periods of seven and ten years; and, Thirdly, that in graver cases any remission should be postponed to a future date, "when the colony had recovered its tone." These recommendations were entirely approved by the Secretary of State.

Soon after Grant's arrival in Jamaica, Lord Carnarvon, in a long and well considered despatch, had recommended divers measures to the Governor's attention. Such were the relief of the poor, the education of the people, and the administration of justice. Predial larceny, as it was termed, had also to be checked, and steps to be taken to prevent the unauthorised occupation of land, a practice which, in other colonies, has led to loss of revenue, as well as to loose notions in dealing with public property. All these and other reforms were carefully discussed. Compensation was awarded to owners who had suffered damage during the Mutiny, to the amount of £31,373, and this, while the revenue of the colony, on an average of three years, only amounted to £338,048. The Act which was passed in 1845 to authorise the Governor to proclaim Martial Law was repealed; and, generally speaking, much was done to bring about a financial equilibrium, to remedy abuses, to supply public wants and deficiencies, and to efface the recollections of the Rebellion. Another great measure was the transfer of the seat of Government from Spanish Town to Kingston. How the Established Church was dealt with will be shown later on.



With regard to the above subjects the following plans were laid before the Legislative Assembly and carried. It appeared that, at the time of the outbreak, there were just twenty-two policemen available for the maintenance of order; and of this number only eight could be termed 'effective.' The Justices of the Peace were not sufficient for the criminal work, and accused persons remained in gaol for months without trial. Civil Justice practically was not existent. The remedy for this state of things was the organisation of a semi-military police, under an Inspector-General, with a rural police, as an auxiliary force, for the detection of crime in the remote districts of the country. Public prosecutors were appointed as assistants to the Attorney-General. Solicitors of seven years' standing were authorised to practise as advocates in the Supreme Court, and the Judges of that tribunal were reduced in number from four to two. Commissioners were created to revise and consolidate the local Statutes. And finally, with the introduction of Civil Courts, on the model of our own County Courts, reasonable provision was made for the despatch of the civil as well as the criminal business of the colony.

Equally grave and pressing was the question of

taxation and revenue. In September 1866 there was a deficit of more than £80,000. To reduce this the duty on rum was increased. The house tax was extended to houses under an annual rental of £12. A small tax was levied from the land, and additional duties were laid on wines, tobacco, and on other articles of luxury. The result of these measures was a surplus, in 1868, of more than £5500, followed by more than an equilibrium in every succeeding year of Grant's administration.\*

When public tranquillity had been guaranteed, and the revenue had been placed on a sounder basis, attention was given to other reforms. A new Medical Department provided attendance and medicine for dwellers in rural districts; grants-in-aid were made to elementary schools; a Director of Roads was placed under the Department of Public Works; old buildings were repaired and hospitals and police stations were constructed on modern and improved principles. In 1871-2 Grant was able to write to the Secretary of State :—

“By public expenditure and private enterprise, the financial prosperity of the colony was secured. The continuing surplus,” he added, “accrues from no increase of taxation, and is in the face of a large expenditure on Public Works of utility and importance, of a largely increasing

expenditure in such departments as those of Education and Medicine, and in some increase of those administrative and finance departments which necessarily require development as the population and wealth of the colony becomes developed."

In the prosecution of his reforms in the administration of Jamaica, it is reasonable and fair to hold that the Colonial Governor must have been aided by the recollection of improvements introduced and carried out by him as 'Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, under not dissimilar circumstances, on an extended scale, and over a denser population and a larger area. Financial exigencies and expedients; the taxation of land; an increase to customs; security of life and property in times of peace as well as in periods of disturbance and unrest; the encouragement of lawful enterprise; the protection of the native community; the problem of reconciling English advancement with equity in the treatment of indigenous interests; grants-in-aid to elementary and village schools; the improvement of communication; the substitution of good roads and bridges for ferries and mere cattle tracks; sanitation and the public health; municipal action; the handling of Legislative Assemblies—all these and other plans and policies

essential to moral and material prosperity, had been discussed, considered, and shaped in the long official Indian life, extending from 1848 to 1860, under the strong and far-seeing Dalhousie as well as under the magnanimous and high-minded Canning. That Indian experience enables its possessor to deal effectively with the problems of Colonial Administration is sufficiently proved by the policy in Jamaica of Charles Metcalfe, John Peter Grant, and two other Anglo-Indians. Macaulay had written of Metcalfe :—

“In Jamaica, still convulsed by a social Revolution,  
His presence calmed the evil passions,  
Which long-suffering had engendered in one class,  
And long domination in another.”

The same merit, with very slight alteration, may fairly be claimed for Grant, a generation later.

Grant's measure for what is called the Dis-establishment of the Church in Jamaica occupied much of his time and attention. The subject had been under discussion since 1843, in the time of Bishop Spencer. It had been felt that the cost of the Establishment was out of proportion to the total revenue of the colony, and compromises had been suggested and some retrenchments made, in the time of Sir Henry Barkly.

The following extracts, regarding the Church Establishment as it stood in 1866 under the new improved Constitution, are taken from the Handbook of Jamaica, published under official sanction in 1891.

“The Staff of Clergy in 1860 may be stated as follows:— One bishop ; three archdeacons ; twenty-two rectors ; fifty Island curates ; fifteen missionary British and Island stipendiary curates ; five substitutes for clergymen on leave or additional curates for town churches, and one chaplain of the Penitentiary—ninety-seven ; but as two of the archdeacons were also beneficed clergymen, the actual staff was ninety-five clergymen of all grades. The cost of this Establishment was £7100 to the Imperial Government, and £37,284 to the Local Government, including the parochial expenditure for church servants, etc.

“One of the earliest despatches of Sir John Grant to the British Government announced that the ‘charges for organists, beadles, and other church servants, and all the miscellaneous and contingent expenses of the several churches and chapels, which were defrayed by the several parish vestries out of the annual appropriation from the general revenue made to these vestries,’ had been discontinued, with the concurrence of the Bishop of Kingston.

“This led to a lengthy correspondence between the Governor, the Bishop of Kingston, and Earl Granville, the then Colonial Minister, which continued until the Disestablishment of the Church by the expiry of the then Clergy Law. Subsequently, the enabling Statute Law, 30 of 1870, was passed by the Legislative Council.

"On the 1st of January 1870, the beginning of Disestablishment, there were in the diocese fourteen rectors, thirty-six island curates, and sixteen stipendiary curates, making a total of sixty-six clergymen. Of these fifty-one attended the first Synod, which was held in Kingston in the month of January, under the presidency of the Bishop of Kingston. Forty-one lay representatives were also present. The first of the principles unanimously agreed to and promulgated was, 'that the Church in this Island shall be known as the Church of England in Jamaica,' and that 'union and communion of this Church with the Church of England shall by all means be preserved and strengthened.'

"A Constitution was then drawn up, in which it was provided that the government of the Church should be vested in a Synod, to consist of a bishop, the clergy and the representatives of the laity chosen by the registered male communicants, and by such of the non-communicant members as might declare themselves to belong to no other religious denomination.

"The corporate body (or, rather, the incorporated lay body of the Church of England in Jamaica), was to hold the property and funds of the Church, and to exercise all other rights and duties required of them under the Law of Disestablishment, and was to consist of four communicant lay members of the Church, to be appointed by the Synod.

"The management of the parochial or local affairs of the Church was placed in the hands of Church committees, elected by those qualified to vote for lay representatives, and to consist of not more than twelve members, two-thirds of whom should be communicants."

The above extracts are taken verbatim from the Hand-Book, and the facts and figures can be trusted.

The result of Disestablishment may be summarised as follows :—Sixty-six of the old Incumbents were to continue to receive their stipends from the State during their lives. This number has now been reduced to ten. The other clergy, about ninety in number, receive their stipends from the congregations, or from funds specially bequeathed or set apart for this purpose. The Bishop is elected by the Synod. He has greater powers than an English bishop in regard to the appointment and removal of his clergy, and to patronage generally. A close connection is maintained between the Church in Jamaica and the Mother Church in England, and the Bishop generally attends periodical Synods held in this country.

## CHAPTER VIII

**I**T is as well now to say something about Grant's method of work, especially in India. In the administration of Lord Dalhousie and of all his predecessors, every paper, in every department, Foreign, Home, Financial and Military, had been submitted to the Governor-General first, and was then sent round by his Private Secretary to the various members of Council. Some of the papers were either matters of routine or were of no great value or serious importance. As the Empire expanded, as references increased in number, and as new departments were created under the Council [Public Works, for instance], it became politic and proper to relieve the Head of Government of unnecessary labour and to save time. So, in the administration of Lord Canning, mainly at Grant's suggestion, the Supreme Council resolved itself into something like a Cabinet. In the Foreign Department every



letter or reference went direct to the Viceroy. The business of the Home, the Financial, the Military, and the Legislative Departments, was referred in the first place to the Civilian members, to the Military, and to the Legal member. Each of these officials was enabled to dispose at once of a considerable mass of detail, while he was bound to refer every question of significance to the Viceroy. This system ensured despatch and produced other excellent results. Grant's own method of conducting business, whether as Secretary, Councillor, or Lieutenant-Governor, was something of this kind. Lord Dalhousie, who was as willing to get work out of his subordinates as he was prompt to rebuke unauthorised and impertinent advice on their part, once took occasion to define the sphere and limits which such officials should observe. The Head of any Government and all members of Council might, he said, pen Minutes. Secretaries, and Under Secretaries should prepare Notes; sifting a huge mass of papers, extracting the pith of previous correspondence, and, without appearing to dictate, suggesting the points for decision and the precedents for departmental action. Such a Note was a precis and something more. Grant used to remark that the careful preparation of a

"Note" on the above lines might, in India and elsewhere, have saved us from many a false step in finance and in civil and military administration. For years Grant insisted on the paramount necessity of looking carefully into what had taken place before, if you were to estimate the chances and contingencies of the future. And in all the discussions and controversies it might be said of him, as it was said of Chancellor Thurlow by Dr Johnson, that "he laid his mind fairly alongside" of his opponent. In dealing with a colleague or a subordinate he never acted on any assumed or inherent superiority of position. He was ready to meet each argument by another, and to convince by reason and logic. And if in the course of a debate, oral or written, his distinctions might occasionally seem too finely drawn, his conclusions were clear and consistent, and generally convinced or silenced his opponents.

No man was more ready to accept fulness and completeness of reform in any one department, but he more than once remarked, pathetically, that he had in all his long career seen many desirable alterations and improvements indefinitely postponed, on the plea that they would soon form part of some contemplated structural and organic

change. And these grand swelling projects, though constantly debated and criticised, were apt to end in failure or smoke, while much good might have been effected by a moderate instalment of reform.

This seems the proper place to insert the following extract from a long and confidential letter from Lord Dalhousie, showing the very high value which, eventually, the Governor-General set on Grant's co-operation and judgment. A large portion of the letter is taken up with the affairs of Pegu, which had been conquered by our forces in the second Burmese War of 1852-53. The main question then at issue was, whether the King of Burma could be induced to sign a formal treaty, ceding the Province of Pegu to the British Government; and the Governor-General discusses at length the matter of possible compensation to the King, in the event of such a cession, very much as the same subject has been discussed by European statesmen in regard to other countries in our own time. As a matter of history no such treaty was ever signed, and we hold the Province of Pegu, and its seaboard (connecting the two Provinces of Tenasserim and Arracan originally ceded after the campaign of 1824-26) by mere right of conquest. Lord Dalhousie, it should be observed, was writing

from Coonoor in the Nilgiris, where he had gone for his health in the hot season of 1855. Grant was, of course, at Calcutta, where the senior member of council acted as President of that body in the absence of the Governor-General. On some of the points on which Lord Dalhousie invites Grant's free opinion, he was not bound to have consulted his colleague at all.

"COONOR, *28th May* 1855.

"MY DEAR GRANT,

"I have to thank you for your letter of 16th inst., and am glad of the opportunity of speaking to you on one or two matters, whereanent I wish to consult you.

"If your slip about the military works was originally 'free and easy,' as you say, Baker had duly stiffened it, with a proper portion of departmental starch, before he sent it on: for I observed nothing which need have given you the trouble of writing about it; although I have reason to be glad you thought there was, since I have profited by the supposed necessity.

"P. has flared up most unusually and most needlessly about this Pegu foray. He seems to me to have felt himself in the position of the well-known gentleman who had no case, and to have set about 'abusing the opposite attorney,' accordingly. If you are to be thought Quaker-like, you will see that I am still more drab-coloured, and wear my brim even broader than you. I hold that we have no ground of quarrel; and that if we had, it would be absurd to use it as such.

"Well—I think the Cabul Treaty *was* a good job. They ought to think so in England, and I hope they will. Our friend from the Caucasus, I see, is going to assault us all about the 5 per cent. loan; and with the innate love of fair play belonging to a true Briton of the 'country party,' he means not to wait either for explanation or defence. That won't do us much harm, I think.

"I hope you will look after the expenditure at Headquarters. If N. and others are going too fast, they must be stopped. We may be absurd, but we must not spend money which we not only have not got, but which we can't get.

"I was sure of what you all would think of the Peshawur Brigade business. Is it not enough to exasperate one? And the people talk of a civilian arrogantly interfering in military matters with the C. in C.

"Assuming that the mission will go to Ava as was intended, I want to get your opinion as to the instructions which should be given to the Envoy regarding a treaty. You know my opinion of the intrinsic value of such an article; but the people at Home have always been anxious for it, and I think we are bound to do our utmost to obtain it. Again, I do not think the King will ever sign a treaty; but, for the same reason as before, I think we are bound to try and induce him to do so.

"The Court lately authorised us to give up Mengdun, but the time for this cession has passed away. The King hinted at it last year, and he was told that if he wished for it he must complete the transaction before the end of the year. He did not do so. His Envoys said, and could be got to say, not a word about it. It is now too late. The

Mengdun people are fairly settled under our rule ; they are the best disposed toward it of any in Pegu. We ought not, and we must not, now agree to give them up to Burma again. Moreover, it would not be for our advantage to fix a time with the King, and then to give way upon it.

“In all former drafts we have insisted upon having either a specific cession of the Province of Pegu, or an indirect recognition of our possession of it. As this seems to be unpalatable beyond endurance, and as (since the period when this provision in the treaty was much desired) the Governor-General has had an opportunity of informing the King's Ambassadors that the Provinces of Pegu would never be restored to Burma, I think we might now forego all demand for an article containing either cession of Pegu or recognition of our possession of it, and might content ourselves with designating Phayre ‘Commissioner of Pegu’ in the preamble.

“In that case the treaty would contain simply the usual ‘perpetual peace and friendship’ clause, and the general permission for international trade which was contemplated in the former draft.

“But, looking to the anxiety which this King seems really to feel for the increase of trade with his dominions, and having regard to the desire for some treaty at Home, to which I have already alluded, it is worth while to consider whether a treaty might not be negotiated on the basis of commercial concessions on both sides. It has been often said that the King frets over the establishment of custom-houses on the Meaday frontier. Many among ourselves have deprecated their establishment at all ; and nobody has defended them except upon considerations of revenue,

and of the hold which they give us over the Court of Ava in the absence of any personal treaty.

"If a treaty were to be concluded, those who rely on the efficacy of such an instrument would consider that we had secured every political advantage which a line of custom-houses could confer; while I; who set no store by the treaty, would feel that practically we had not loosened our hold over the Court of Ava, because, if commercial intercourse were admitted by the treaty, we should still retain the power of closing the river, and thus of stopping all such intercourse, whenever sufficient cause of offence should be given us.

"The objection on the score of loss of revenue could not be so readily met. It is evident from the progressive improvement of the returns that we should sacrifice a good many lacs a year before long, if we were to abolish the frontier line. Can anything we could gain compensate for that loss? I think nothing less than the desired treaty would compensate for the loss, but upon the whole, that the Home Government would think the price to be paid not too much for a treaty with Burma. What think you?

"If there are to be concessions, how far are we to carry them? We cannot, of course, give up the sea-customs; because we can't afford so heavy an additional sacrifice of revenue; and besides, to abolish all customs in Pegu would be to make it a smuggling depôt for all India, far more formidable than Moulmein ever was. But we might offer to abolish all duties now imposed at the Meaday frontier upon articles going up or down.

"This concession could not be without an equivalent; and I see none that we could require, except that as we bind ourselves to take no customs duties on the Irrawaddy, the

King should bind himself to take no customs duties on that river either.

"I have said there must be an equivalent. I think so, because the sacrifice of so much revenue merely to obtain a Treaty of Amity, would betoken more anxiety on that subject than it would be politic in us to betray.

"You will perceive also that I have limited the internal free-trade to the Irrawaddy. This seems necessary, because there is no port on the Sitang; and although from the difficulty of access to that river, no great loss might be incurred by it, still a large current of smuggled trade might be got up, under the encouragement given by the removal of all custom-houses on that river.

"I presume that on all teak timber, whatever its place of origin, the present duty would be taken at the port of export.

"Even if this agreement should be made, and even though it should be worded in the most general terms, it would still create a chance and cause of collision beyond what now exists. For, if the King should agree to take no duties on the Irrawaddy, a cause of quarrel will arise on every occurrence of the very probable event of an unauthorised exaction of duty, or fee, or *dustoorie*, or whatever name might be given to it, by a Governor or other smaller functionary along the river course.

"The risk, however, might be met by an article declaring that on the infraction of this agreement by either of the contracting parties, it should be competent to the other party to close the river to all trade until the grievance should be removed and reparation made.

"It will occur to you at once that recourse might be had by us to this remedy, without the authority of an article in



the treaty. The advantage, however, of putting it into the treaty seems to me to consist in this, that it would provide a specific remedy for a specific grievance, which remedy would be short of war, and not to be extended to that extreme measure unless we pleased.

"No doubt, if such a treaty were concluded, the balance of advantage would still be on our side. But that is the natural effect of our holding possession of all the seaports by which trade can now have access to Burma; and it is the necessary consequence of the Burmese folly and arrogance, which led to their incurring so heavy a penalty as to be dependent on those they injured for access to the ocean. Taking the position of affairs as they stand, the withdrawal of all duties upon the river by the King would not, I think, be more than an equivalent for our withdrawal of the duties we levy at Meaday.

"Such are my notions at present. I have inflicted upon you an unmerciful letter in expounding them; but the subject is one of moment, and interesting to you, I know.

"There is another, and a very different subject on which I want your mind. W. B. O'Shaughnessy has done real and right good work for India. I would fain get him some handle before I leave India. The question is, what shall it be? He has not sate upon a covenanted throne, and moulded a rude kingdom into a model province, like John Lawrence. He has not actually created a vast work of genius, like Cautley. But he has adapted the creation of the West to the peculiarities of the East with a genius of his own, and has given us to our hand, for everyday use, the greatest discovery of modern times, over a vast space, in brief time, and with marvellous success. What shall be

done unto him? \* The offer of a knighthood only would make him hang himself, or assassinate us, or both. Money alone would be pleasant. How think you?

"I spare you more. One word only to thank you for your enquiry after my health. I have not advanced, rather gone back, during the last ten days; but still I am better than I was, and thankful accordingly.—Always yours sincerely."

It is hardly possible, with the materials at my disposal, to deal with this memoir from any other than the official side. Grant was not in any sense a Bureaucrat, or what in Anglo-Indian phraseology is denominated a "Bahadur." He did not hastily bestow his confidence, and he was not lavish of praise in his dealings with his subordinates, but no man in such a position was more ready to acknowledge good service and devotion to the State, and his mode of conducting business once understood, no unpleasantness could arise. But it must be admitted that he was not much given to private correspondence, though he was fortunate in the attachment of many friends, and in the devotion of his school of followers. Of demi-official letters there is abundance, as the extracts about the Mutiny prove. Letters to friends and relatives are comparatively few. Writing to an

\* W. B. O'Shaughnessy was made a K.C.B., and was afterwards known as Sir William Broke.

old Indian subordinate, from Jamaica, in 1874, he gravely tells him—

“Understand my principles; they are that everybody whom I wish to hear from is bound to write to me, but I am not bound to write to anybody. I should like to know what you are doing, saying, and writing. For me, in consequence of sins committed in some previous ‘yug’ (Hindu form for era), I am to stay here till next year, if I keep above ground so long. Now that I have this one year more, I begin almost to regret it. But I have a College and a canal on the stocks, and I do not like to go away and shut up for good (or bad) till they are launched. By-the-bye, do you know a Principal? He must be a *rara avis*; such a man as I remember is described in a French old rural economy book, the ‘Maison Rustique,’ as fit to take charge of the turkeys—an incomparable man in a small way. The bulk of the scholars will be young Browns and Blacks in training for the ministry of all denominations. But there will be, I doubt not, an upper crust. I am under articles not to have Theologism; Presbyterianism and other ‘isms’ being forbidden, it is a fair demand not to allow Theologism. Yet science must be the mainstay of the College. And I incline to think that it would be well if the Principal filled the Chair of Natural Science. Anyhow, he must be a very sensible, *tacty*, pleasant, and above all, lucky man. He will have a first-rate house and £700 or £800 a year. If a good man really, the last sum, probably. My notion is to have three men.

1. Natural Science.
2. Mathematics and Mechanics.
3. Letters and Languages.

"Some lecturers and masters could be got here for Chemistry. My notion also is to have only English, including Literature and General History, in the necessities; providing for Latin (possibly Greek) and one or two modern languages."

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When in England on leave for a short period about the same time, he writes to the same correspondent: "I shall be delighted to receive (but not further to circulate) a box of grouse, with any coloured label," an official joke which all Anglo-Indians will understand.

Though not what may be termed a literary man, he did not confine his reading to newspapers and to Blue Books. He was familiar with the best classical English writers, and with French Literature; and like Dr Arnold, Archbishop Whately, and Dean Stanley, he always returned with the keenest relish to his favourite Waverley Novels. After the termination of his service in Jamaica, the remainder of his life was passed mainly on the Rothlemurchus estate, to which he succeeded on the death of his elder brother, and which he did much to improve. Grant married, in 1835, Henrietta Chichele Plowden, daughter of Trevor Chichele Plowden, Bengal, C.S. Grant left five sons and three daughters, and died on 6th January 1893, and his eldest son, John Peter

Grant, of the Bengal Civil Service, did not long survive his father. The estate is now held by John Peter, fourth of the name, Advocate of the Scotch Bar, Sheriff-Substitute of Nairn, and grandson of the Lieutenant-Governor. Of Grant's family the eldest daughter, Elinor, married Sir James Colville, Chief Justice of the Old Supreme Court of Calcutta, and after his retirement from that post in 1859, Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. His second daughter, Jane, married Richard Strachey, R.E., now General Sir R. Strachey, G.C.S.I. He gave most valuable assistance as Secretary to Grant, when at Benares and Allahabad in 1857. It is hoped that this narrative may be accepted as correct in all essentials by the few surviving Civil or Military servants of the Company and the Crown, who served under Grant in India and Jamaica. And to men of a younger generation, his principles, his actions, and his State papers may be recommended for study and adoption in the treatment of unlooked-for incidents, necessary changes, and permanent Reforms which concern the character of the Civil Service, the welfare of India, agricultural, mercantile, and social, and the dignity and credit of England as an Imperial and Asiatic Power.

## **PART II**

### **EXTRACTS FROM HIS MINUTES AND STATE PAPERS**



## PART II

AS already intimated, the Minutes have been arranged by themselves so as to illustrate Grant's official career. It seemed advisable to deal with them in this way instead of relegating them to an Appendix in small print, according to the practice of some other biographers. They could not well have been inserted in the biographical portion of the work without breaking the continuity of the narrative, and, probably, distracting the reader's attention. The range of subjects discussed, it will be seen, is very wide. Lord Dalhousie, after some five years' experience, recorded his opinion that the Governor-General was the ultimate referee in every disputed or doubtful point "from a sea-wall at Tumluk to a plunge bath at Peshawar." And Grant's Minutes, in the same way, cover a wide official area. Irrigation in Behar, Land Revenue in Madras, railways in Upper India, vernacular



education in Lower and Central Bengal, the introduction of young Hindus to our English language and literature, Martial law in times of disturbances—all attest the variety and importance of the subjects with which the English Administrator must deal. It would have been easy to multiply such extracts to a far greater extent. But there is always some risk in the treatment of Oriental and unfamiliar topics. Some are technical and departmental, while others have given finality to old-standing controversies, or have incorporated useful reforms in the regular administrative and executive Code.

The annexation of Oudh, on the other hand, is a grave event in Indian History, and the arguments about the Bible in Government schools and the Sunday traffic on railways, its pros and cons, are applicable to analogous questions elsewhere, whether raised by the School Board in London, or by the establishment of a college in the Soudan. Practically, the biography of a man in Grant's position, to be properly understood, must be illustrated by Minutes and official papers, just as we can only realise the arduous toils and the political difficulties encountered by Peel or Palmerston, from their utterances in Parliament and their despatches from the Home or Foreign Office. In any case, it

is not possible to put aside questions affecting the welfare of millions over Provinces as large as European Kingdoms and the credit of Imperial Britain, by terming them "parochial and petty."

To each Minute is prefixed a short note by the writer of this memoir, explaining the origin of the discussion and how it was proposed that the Government of Bengal or the Supreme Council should deal with the reference. The Minutes are given, as far as possible, in chronological order, as it was not practicable to arrange them in order of importance. They must be taken *per capita*, to borrow a legal phrase.

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## THE KHONDS AND MERIAH SACRIFICES

*Extracts from Grant's final Report as Commissioner in the Hill Tracts.*

July 1848.

"IN the cold season of 1835-6, when, in the course of the last Goomsoor Rebellion, our troops first ascended the Ghats, lying at the back of the district of Ganjam, we made our first acquaintance with the Khonds and their country. It was then discovered that these people had been in the immemorial habit of performing annual sacrifices of human victims, the victims being usually purchased or stolen from the plains below, and sold to the Khonds

by persons who made a trade of such dealings. The Zamindari of Goomsoor was resumed, and peace was restored in 1836-7. The Zamindaris at the foot of the line of the hills each have Khond hill districts belonging to them, and the Khond districts belonging to the Zamindari of Goomsoor thus 'fell directly into our hands. The sudden discovery of the horrible fact that human sacrifices were systematically and extensively celebrated before thousands of spectators, over a large tract of country, which, being included in the Zamindari, had been nominally under our dominion for nearly seventy years, attracted much attention. The practice was found to extend northward into the Mahals under Bengal, but its limits to the southward were not and, I believe, are not distinctly known. The Hill people who occupy the same range of hills to the southward, or rather to the south-westward of the Khonds, are called Sowrahs, who, I understand, are quite a distinct race of men from the Khonds, but they, too, or some of them, unquestionably performed human sacrifices like their neighbours. Mr Russell, the officer so much distinguished by the settlement of two distinct insurrections in these parts, one in Goomsoor, and another in the similar Zamindari in Purla Kinedi, was much averse to any endeavours to abolish the rite; believing that, even if limited to the Goomsoor tracts, such endeavours would be ineffectual, and would produce very dangerous consequences. From time to time a few victims were snatched from death by different officers, both on the Bengal and on the Madras sides, but no real good was done by such unconnected and fitful operations. To rescue this or that Meriah is but to take away so many rupees, so many head of cattle, and so much turmeric.

What has to be done is to stop the practice of sacrificing anybody as a Meriah." \*

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### PUBLIC WORKS

THE following extracts from a Minute on the public works of the Madras Presidency, dated 5th July 1854, contrasts the riches and prosperity of the Province of Bengal with other provinces, and notes some of the peculiarities of the Land Revenue system of Madras. The Minute in some parts is highly controversial. But the following arguments seem unanswerable :

"It is so far from being true, as the Madras Commissioners imagine, that distant Provinces are at a disadvantage with the Government of India, as compared with Bengal, in which Province Government happens to sit, that even a slight enquiry into the facts will prove that the very reverse is true. Of all parts of India, Bengal, which supplies two-fifths of the whole revenue of India, and costs, perhaps, a tenth part of the whole charges of India, has had the least money spent upon it in Public Works. The disproportion will be found, by any one who looks into the public accounts, to be enormous. Yet no

\* The whole subject is fully discussed in a valuable article in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1846. The credit of putting an end to these horrible rites is due to Colonel Campbell, Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent, and also to Dr Cadenhead and to Captain S. C. Macpherson.

part of India has such solid claims for public expenditure upon public works as Bengal has. Certainly no part of India has improved during the last sixty years as Bengal has improved. Land enough to make a small Province has been reclaimed from waste; enormous tracts of country, which many now alive remember as uninhabited forests, have become the abode of a teeming population; but, with immaterial exceptions, all that has been done in Bengal has been done by the people themselves, and whatever the people themselves could not do has been left undone. The one exception of a great work in Bengal is the lower part of the Grand Trunk road, but that work, so far as it lies in Bengal, runs through a wild tract, and it was made, not for the sake of Bengal, but for the sake of the North-West Provinces. Bombay, Scinde, the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces have all enjoyed considerable grants for Public Works. Madras has, for years past, four lacs a year available for its trunk roads, and stupendous works are now in progress upon two of its great rivers. Bengal, where this selfish and near-sighted Government of India sits, and which alone pays the deficit of all those places, has had nothing."

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#### FROM THE SAME MINUTE OF JULY 1854

*Remarks on Irrigation for Agricultural Purposes, and on forced or compulsory labour on Public Works.*

"I DISSENT wholly from the opinion of Mr ——— that when once famine has been sufficiently guarded against, irrigation must be very slowly encouraged, or, rather, must not be promoted at all, until after the vast expenditure

(much of which will not be *directly* remunerative) shall have been made in the communications of the country. It is feared that people seized, I suppose, at the sight of running water, by sudden insanity, should labour day and night to grow immense quantities of food which they know they can neither eat or sell. Beyond a doubt, the full benefits neither of irrigation, nor of any other agricultural improvements are developed till good communications between one part of a country and another, and between all parts of the country and the sea, are established. Nevertheless, both improvements are good in themselves. If it could be supposed that by some physical cause, it must be for ever impossible to improve the existing communications between the great deserts of Northern India and the rest of the world, and if it could be further supposed that it should be in the power of the Government of India by some operation [which, so far from costing it anything, would be directly profitable in itself] suddenly to convert those deserts into land equal in fertility to the land of Bengal, then would Mr ———, in such a case, seriously maintain that the Government, in whose dominions those deserts are, ought not to perform that operation? Yet this is an extreme case, there being no land in Madras so remote and inaccessible as the deserts I speak of; and it so happens that the very canals which bring the waters of a river to the ryot's field convey his produce to the sea.

"I trust that the Home Government, in whose hands this great question rests, will take a very different view of the subject. I trust that, by them, Irrigation will be treated on its own merits, and upon the principles of common sense. I trust that wherever the people are willing to pay, in one shape or another, for watering their crops as much as will

fully and directly remunerate Government for the cost of bringing the water to the crops, the Government will be authorised and directed to bring the water. If Government keep within the limit, it keeps within the limit of Nature. It will do no more than the people themselves would do if they had the necessary organisation and resources. If Government does not act up to this limit, it fails in a duty which its position towards the people imposes upon it.

"I earnestly hope, also, that attention may be effectively attracted to the general principle of land assessment which is at the bottom of all the Madras objections to Irrigation on a grand scale. I have no doubt that these objections to Irrigation will have no weight with the mass of intelligent people. But it is not at first sight obvious that the general principle of the Revenue system which the objectors administer, fully supports them in their objection. Yet, I believe that no one who has not been educated under that system, if he will only look into the thing carefully, will hesitate to admit this truth. To restrict cultivation in order to raise the price of grain, and thereby to realise high rents from the land allowed to the cultivators, is no better national economy than to prevent irrigation for the same object. Indeed, it seems to me the worse economy of the two. It is as though the Collector, not content with refusing to dig a canal, were to forbid the villagers to use water running through their fields.

"Mr ———, though I do not perceive that he objects to the system, most truly says that the Land Revenue of Madras is not rent, nor a tax upon rent, but a tax upon production, operating directly as a prohibitory tax restrictive of production. He says, 'In this Presidency there are tens of thousands of acres of as good waste soil to be had by

any applicant as there is under the plough, and as near the market too.' He says 'that it requires no more labour or capital to raise additional crops (on these waste acres) when food is wanted, than on land previously under the plough.' The reason why the fund of wealth and strength which the country has in these waste acres is not made use of is, because no one is allowed to cultivate one of them without paying Government, for permission to do so, more than it is worth. The above is a description of the system in force, from the pen of a gentleman thoroughly conversant with it, who, I understand, is an approver of that system. I ask no more than that those responsible for the government of India will ponder well this description.

"Under the whole of the Bengal Presidency, the Land Revenue has never been more than a portion of the natural rent of the cultivated land, and it has ever been a principle of the Bengal system to encourage, as much as possible, the cultivation of waste lands, and the improved cultivation of cultivated lands, by fixing for terms of years (in the Lower Provinces, for ever) the assessment of each village, without regard to the varying cultivation from year to year. Which system has answered best—the Bengal system or Settlements for terms, or the Madras system of annual Jummabundee [Settlement]? In Madras the Revenue of the country has been almost stationary, the Land Revenue having been, until quite lately, for a long course of years together, annually declining. In the Lower Provinces of Bengal, the Land Revenue alone is considerably more than it was at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and so much have the general Revenue's increase of wealth been, that the Land Revenue, far from being there, as it was everywhere else in India, the principal source of the whole



Revenue, now forms less than the third part of it. The result in the North-West Provinces has been similar though less marked, because, until the late grand thirty years' Settlement, the terms were too short. Since that Settlement was made, all accounts agree that improvement has been making rapid strides, yet it is on the ground of the necessity for keeping up the public Revenue that the great part of the soil of Madras is doomed to be uncultivated. As if Revenue could be drawn in any other possible way than from the wealth of the people, or as if the way to make an agricultural people rich was to prohibit them from cultivating their land."

. . . . .  
"I have but one other remark to make connected with Irrigation in the Madras Presidency. The point I am about to mention looks like a matter of mere detail, but I believe it involves a very important principle. The practice in Madras is to take no water rent for the water used, but to impose a very much higher assessment on irrigated land than on dry land. On such land, whatever crop was actually grown upon it, as it is land capable of growing rice, the maximum rate of assessment is fixed. Colonel Cotton, of the Madras Engineers, in a book he has lately published, makes some very sensible remarks on this subject. He shows that as by this system the ryot pays by the acre the same amount whether he grows a crop that requires much or little water, he is obliged to grow always rice, which requires the largest supply of water, because, with *an unlimited supply of water*, rice affords a more valuable crop than any other ordinary grain from the same quantity of land. But he shows that where there is an unlimited quantity of land and a limited quantity of water,

this can seldom be the most profitable manner of applying the water to the land. He therefore strongly recommends that payment should be made for the water according to the quantity used, which is the European and the North-Western Provinces' principle, leaving the cultivator free to apply for any quantity he pleases for the cultivation of his land, and so, instead of giving a fictitious encouragement to one sort of crop, ensuring the greatest possible profit being made of the water, and the extension of the benefit of irrigation over the greatest possible area.

"This appears to me so important a point, as to deserve being brought to the special notice of the Madras authorities. I perceive that the fear of "a glut of rice" is one of the objections felt at Madras to a grand system of Irrigation. It is very inconsistent with this fear so to regulate the assessment of wet lands as to do all you can do to cause the ryot to cultivate nothing but rice upon it. The fact is, that the water is much more valuable than the land, and the water is liable to be wasted, which the land is not. Wherefore the natural course would seem to be, while both are charged for according to the quantity used, to charge more in proportion for the water than for the land.

"I may not avoid remarking upon the fact announced by the Commissioners that, in the Madras Presidency, labour upon public works is more or less compulsory. 'On the whole,' they say, 'there appears to be no district in which the labour is not more or less obtained by compulsion.' The Commissioners assign reasons for this result which all reduce themselves to this one reason, that the labourers on public works are either oppressed or cheated. They are oppressed, inasmuch as they are paid at less than the market rate of wages, even when they are obliged to move

from home to work in distant places, and their payment is long delayed. They are cheated, inasmuch as their work is short measured, and the native officers hold back part of what is allowed to be due to them and is charged to Government. The Commissioners, after fairly stating the facts, propose what appear to me easy and adequate remedies.

"I am so firmly convinced, that recourse to compulsory labour is no more necessary in India than in England, that it is never wanted under good superintendence, and that the only effect of at once absolutely prohibiting it in any part of India would be, that good superintendence would become a matter of necessity and justice would be done, perforce, to the work-people, that I am decidedly of opinion that the system ought to be absolutely forbidden forthwith on pain of suspension from office. The Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, the other day, suspended a Magistrate for six months for pressing labourers, and we have not heard of the works of the Ganges Canal being stopped in consequence. I am convinced that nothing is required to rid us of this bad thing but boldness and firmness in a rightful course at the head of affairs, and I think that the Government of Madras should be addressed accordingly."

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#### EDUCATION—PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, 1854.

THE following extract is taken from a letter addressed by the Council of Education at Calcutta to Lord Dalhousie, in his capacity of Governor of Bengal. The letter is signed by the Secretary to the Council, the late Dr F. Mouat, a warm friend

of native advancement in the best and highest sense. But the draft bears the impress of John Grant in almost every paragraph, and many of the important alterations and additions are in his well-known handwriting. The Council of Education had had for its Presidents, amongst others, Mr, afterwards Lord Macaulay, Mr Charles H. Cameron, and Mr Drinkwater Bethune.

At the date of the letter from which the extract is taken, its President was Sir James Colvile, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. To the Council, up to this date, was entrusted the control of Education in the Lower Provinces, but about the year 1854 material changes were introduced, in which Sir C. Wood, then at the Board of Control, took a very prominent part. A new Presidency College took the place of the Hindu College established about 1816. A Director of Public Instruction succeeded to the Council of Education, and the revolution was completed by a University, modelled mainly on the plan of the London University. The Council's letter above alluded to is full of statistics and details, and deals with the lectures, studies, and degrees open to the students at the new college, but the extract given below (paragraph

64 to 69 inclusive) shows the opinion held by Grant and his colleagues as to the failure, in several points, of the educational course which Bengali students had followed up to that date. The remarks are as applicable now as they were forty years ago. And it can be confidently asserted that neither in Lord Macaulay's celebrated Minute, on the value of English Literature, nor in any subsequent development of native education in Bengal, can any justification be found for the political theories and claims now advanced by a portion of educated Bengalis. The Government of Bengal had hoped that a sound English education would enable Native Gentlemen to improve their own vernacular literature, to fit themselves for professions other than the service of the Government, and to play their parts in "the practical business of life." It was never anticipated that natives of the Lower Provinces should pose before the public, on platforms or Congresses, as representatives of the Sikhs, Rajputs, and the martial races of the Upper Provinces, or claim to speak in behalf of that ethnological fiction, the "People of India."

PAR. 65.—"The Council look to the Department of Civil Engineering for the proper education of one particular

class of individuals capable of useful employment, private as well as public, in many practical lines; but, in their opinion, it is emphatically our present duty, by working upon the higher classes, to train the native mind to a more just appreciation of the physical sciences, and to give educated natives that practical bent, the mother of real progress, which marks the present epoch in Europe, but which is remarkably absent in all the educated classes of this country, and not less absent amongst those heretofore educated in our English schools and colleges than amongst the ancient Brahmins of Benares.

PAR. 66.—“The exception, to our system, the Bengal Medical College, in the opinion of the Council proves the case they would establish. In Medicine and in Surgery only has a practical direction been given to the education we impart to the natives of this country, and the admirable success of that great experiment, short as has been the time that has elapsed since its commencement, has been such as its most sanguine promoter would not have dared to prophesy eighteen years ago.

PAR. 67.—“What has been done in Medicine may be done in every department. But a healthy, spontaneous and general progress in this direction is not to be expected, whilst all the best educated men in the country are kept in practical ignorance of every kind of physical knowledge.

PAR. 68.—“It is on these grounds that the Council have proposed to make attendance on elementary courses of Natural Philosophy and Natural History compulsory in the Presidency College.

“In the department of Physical Sciences, though the application of mathematics to physics in them is carried to a high pitch, in the present system little or nothing is

shown experimentally, and certainly nothing in the shape of a demonstrative or experimental course exists. The branch of Natural History is professed to be taught, and it is well known that no effective progress in Natural Philosophy is possible with paper work alone.

“The want of everything of a practical character in the educational course at present, appears to the Council to be its greatest defect. Everything that strikes the senses, one-half of the whole circle of knowledge, is, as it were, ignored in our present scheme of education. This, the Council incline to think, would be a grave defect in any Country, but they cannot doubt that it is so in India. It is in the more practical business of life, and in the physical departments especially, that education, in Bengal at least, has done nothing. Our Colleges, it must be admitted, have not turned out, for many years past, half a dozen students who have attempted to earn their own livelihood in any other line than as clerks and Government employeess. Whilst we have trained scholars in scores who will integrate a difficult problem, no one has ever left our schools whom an officer making a road would employ as an overseer, in preference to an English sergeant who can just read and write.”

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#### OFFICES OF MAGISTRATE AND COLLECTOR

IN 1854-55 there was a very long discussion on a proposal to reunite in Bengal the offices of Collector and Magistrate in the same person. They had been separated soon after 1836. Some of the arguments are as applicable to administrative

changes and reforms at this day as they were forty years ago, but they are occasionally very technical and departmental, and without the whole of the correspondence, they might be misunderstood. A few extracts are given below from a Minute, dated 23rd of November 1854.

“According to my idea, it ought to be our fixed intention, as soon as possible, to dis sever wholly the functions of criminal Judge from those of the thief-catcher and public prosecutor now combined in the office of Magistrate. That seems to me to be indispensable as a step towards any great improvement in our criminal jurisprudence. And any change of system to be made meanwhile should be contrived, I think, with regard to this fundamental reform. But if this reform were effected, it seems clear that, with the proposed rank and salary, the Magistrate and Collector would be lifted very far above his proper degree in the scale of offices. The duties of a Bengal Collector are not of a high order. As Magistrate, after the change I contemplate, this officer will be merely the head of the police of a district, and the prosecutor of criminals before the Judge. It strikes me that to raise such a functionary to a rank equal to that of a Judge, who controls and hears appeals from every judicial officer in his district, who, in the vast mass of cases, is the Court of last resort, and from whom no appeal in any case whatever lies, except to the highest Court in the country, would be a mistake, and would certainly degrade the great office of Judge.

PAR. 21.—“Even with the Magistrate’s functions as they now are, the much greater importance of the office of Judge



in a Bengal district appears to me to demand the greater rank and emoluments at present attached to that office. When, of two judicial authorities, one has five times as much power as the other, and can reverse, with censure if he pleases, any order or judgment of that other, surely the one of these two authorities is set up as being plainly the superior of the other, and it seems to me that the salaries of the two offices should in reason have some correspondence with their relative position.

PAR. 22.—“We ought, in my opinion, to attract the soundest heads we can get to the office of Judge; on which, in Bengal, as in all other wealthy and highly civilised countries, the prosperity of agriculture and commerce depends more than on any other single office. In thinking of the subject, we should think not merely of the fact of the wealth and civilisation of Bengal, but also of the cause of it, the institution of private property in land. The reasons which have induced the wise English people to make their Courts all in all, to convert their exchequer into an ordinary tribunal of justice, and to make their “Collectors” mere tax-gatherers, have already operated to a notable extent in Bengal. I am all for progress in this direction. I protest against going backwards.

PAR. 23.—“I speak after much watching of the course which one Government after another inevitably falls into in the matter of appointments, when I say that I am sure, if the proposed system were enforced for a few years, it would be rare indeed to see a Judge of a capacity not greatly below the average. It would be so difficult to get an officer fit to work a Magistracy and Collectorate, and the inconvenience to Secretaries and Lieutenant-

Governors, of having a bad officer in such a situation would be so pressing, that the refuse of the service only would be made Judges. The Government looks to the Magistrate and Collector, the people look to the Judge."

On the same subject he wrote on 8th May 1855:—

"I find only one argument to answer. It is maintained (see paragraphs 8 and 9 of the Lieutenant-Governor's Minute) that though it were successfully made out, which is not admitted, that the union of fiscal and criminal powers in one man is unsound in theory, it is successful in practice all over India, except in Bengal, and ought therefore at least to be as successful in practice in Bengal where the collectors have less to do than elsewhere.

PAR 9.—"In paragraph 10 of my Minute I anticipated this argument, and as the remarks there made remain unanswered, I need not recur to them. The examples of new provinces, such as the Punjab, Pegu, and Nagpur, are now pressed into the service; and not only these provinces, but such wilds as Assam and the South-West Frontier Agency, are treated as fit to become examples for the administration of the richest parts in Bengal. This is as though the civil administration of Middlesex should be modelled after that of the Isle of Skye. Surely, no one doubts that poor countries and scanty populations must be governed in a manner conformable to their requirements, and to their means of paying for government, and that semi-barbarous people do not require the same expensive and refined system of administration as highly civilised people. And surely there is one method for people

beginning to be broken into civilised government, and another method for people who have been under our laws for several generations. Besides, it is inconsistent to stop here in this argument. Why does not the Lieutenant-Governor carry out his theory, and recommend the Calcutta Police Magistrates all to be appointed also Collectors of Abkarri and house tax? If we are to model the administrative system of a Bengal Zillah with its immense real and personal wealth, its rich Talukdars, its Zamindars, and its English planters, after the system appropriate for our latest acquisitions, we should unite the offices, not only of the Collector and the Magistrate, but also always that of the Judge, and often that of the Military Commandant in the same person."

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## RIVERS AND EMBANKMENTS

THE bewildering changes and natural action of some of the great rivers in Lower Bengal in flooding the country, and the mistakes made from endeavours to control or modify that action by embankments and artificial means, are treated in a Minute of April 1855.

"The history of the river is unmistakably written in these facts. Originally it fell into the Hooghly, above Calcutta, and after meandering about that part of the country and raising its level, it became a necessity for it to seek an exit for its ordinary main stream through a

lower line of country. Accordingly, without wholly deserting its own bed, it found, or, more probably, made by enlarging one of its old subsidiary channels, a new main channel to the south, leaving its old bed and many subsidiary outlets as safety-valves for its flood waters. We know that Nature's habit is to make these great changes, gradually and safely, for the people. This case of the Damoodah is a mere nothing, either in regard to the extent of the change or to the mass of water, to what the great Ganges has been harmlessly doing in our own times to the eastward, in the midst of a teeming population. And how much better is it for us now, in the case of the Damoodah, that Nature was allowed then to work its own cure! Let any one look at the line of the old Damoodah on the map, and then imagine to himself what our position would have been now if, some two hundred years ago, the Nawab of Bengal had strongly embanked the southern margin of the river, in order to restrain it from injuring the country. If our predecessors had played us such a trick as that, should we not now, in daily fear of our lives from an overwhelming torrent running high above our heads, have been discussing projects by Lieutenant De Bourbel and others for buying up, at an immense price, the land now forming the much-abused channel of the Damoodah, and banking it up at great expense in order to relieve us from the artificial danger created? We are now somewhat in the position of the Nawab of Bengal of that day. The Damoodah, the operations of Nature having been accelerated by misdirected art, has raised its bed and its banks, and requires for much of its water, a new direction. We should not be less wise than our Mogul predecessors. We should not endeavour to work directly against Nature."

## LAND AND WATER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CALCUTTA AND THE EASTERN DISTRICTS

THERE is now (1898), after forty years, not only a road but a railroad to Jessore and to Kulna. The Minute is valuable as showing the past history of our neglect of the means of communication in Lower Bengal.

*"July 1855.*

"It has always been alleged as a great opprobrium to the Indian Government that there is no road to Dacca and the eastern parts of Bengal. Lieutenant Greathed's survey has at length set a great part of this question at rest, by showing that a road passable at all seasons for so much of the line as lies between Dacca and Jessore, being somewhat less than a hundred miles, would be expensive out of all proportion to its worth. The whole country is inundated to a great depth during the rains, and the line crosses a great number of large rivers, requiring great bridges, exclusive of three rivers to be crossed only by ferries. Leaving unbridged seven rivers that can be bridged, the road would cost  $23\frac{1}{2}$  lacs of rupees, being at the rate of about 14,000 rupees a mile; or, bridging these rivers, it would cost 59 lacs of rupees, being at the rate of nearly 36,000 rupees a mile. Although a bridged road formerly existed for about a third part of this line, it appears to me clear that it would be waste of money to renew any part of it, and that from the Jessore river. (the

Bhairab) to Dacca, water-communication exclusively must be looked for.

"So far, therefore, I agree with all the authorities who have discussed this subject.

"But it is equally clear that between Calcutta and Jessore, a distance of 73 miles, being three-sevenths of the whole distance to Dacca, there is no good reason whatever for not having a metalled and bridged road passable at all seasons of the year. I don't see why the project of a road to Jessore should be dropped because the project of a road to Dacca is impracticable at any reasonable cost.

"There is now a raised road to Jessore with drain bridges complete. The line crosses four rivers; of these two are already bridged, and a bridge across a third is now about to be erected with money given or bequeathed by a public-spirited native gentleman for that express purpose, which has been allowed to lie idly in deposit for too many years. The fourth river only, remains to be bridged, which can be done at no immoderate cost. The first 7 miles of this road, up to the Artillery Station of Dum Dum, are thoroughly metalled, and the next 7 miles, up to Baraset, are metalled less perfectly, therefore only 59 miles are wholly unmetalled, by which defect the road to Jessore is useless for half the year, and but a bad road for the rest of the year. The estimate for improving the road so as to make it a first-class road, repairing all the drains, bridges, and making additional drain bridges to the number of one for each mile, and metalling the roads and bridging the Ishamatti River, is 417,204 rupees. About half of this sum, or 200,000 rupees, is for bridging the Ishamatti River. I think this shall certainly be done, but if we are content with a ferry at the river, the whole cost of the road

will be absolutely trifling compared with its worth. We should give a good road from Calcutta to Jessore for 3000 rupees a mile.

"Here we have the capital of British India and the District town of the greatest Indigo District in India only 73 miles apart, without what can be called a road between them. There is no more physical reason against our having a first-class road between these two places than there is against a road of equal length in any other part of India; and I venture to say that there is no instance in any other part of our possessions in India where a station and town of such importance as Jessore exists at a distance of not more than 73 miles from even a second or third class provincial city, without a good road between them, passable at all seasons of the year. But it is quite certain that if the want now complained of had existed in Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, or the Punjab, it would have been supplied long ago.

"I have often felt it my duty to protest against the injustice which, from the beginning, has been done to Bengal in the matter of public works. Bengal pays about two-fifths of the whole revenue of India, and it costs but a trifle compared with the other divisions of the Empire. Its population is almost in proportion to the revenue it yields. It embraces more European enterprise than all the rest of India put together, yet I am sure I make a moderate estimate when I say that its share of the imperial expenditure upon public works of general use has not been one-twentieth part of the whole. If I were writing an argument upon this general theme, I could not give a stronger instance than this want of a road between Calcutta and Jessore.

"It cannot be said, in this case, that the water communication supplies the want of a road. There is water communication between Calcutta and Jessore, but it is extremely circuitous and tedious. All the bad part of the water communication between Calcutta and Dacca is on the Calcutta side of the Jessore River.

"On these grounds I propose to the Government strongly to recommend to the Honourable Court, the immediate constitution of the Jessore road into a first-class road, bridged and metalled throughout.

"There is a district road from Jessore to Kulna, a station where, I believe, all the steamers, passing through the Soonderbuns Channel, touch. The distance, I believe, is about 40 miles. It may hereafter be worthy of enquiry whether that road should not be made into a second-class metal road. It crosses no drainage, whilst it connects Jessore with our whole system of water communication."

## SANTAL REBELLION—TRIAL BY MARTIAL LAW OR BY THE ORDINARY CRIMINAL COURTS

*"18th August 1855.*

"I AM still of opinion that the trial of rebels by Civil Courts acting deliberately, is preferable to their trial by Courts Martial acting in heat, and as the work *there* to be done by the troops was to defend peaceful villages from plunder, and peaceful subjects from assault and murder, and to disperse by force armed bodies of men assembled for the purpose of committing murderous



outrage [which work could be done as effectively without as with Martial Law, a position fully demonstrated by our honourable colleague, Mr Peacock], I am still of opinion that Martial Law was at that time unnecessary for any purpose. It is obviously proper not to make more of a disturbance of this sort than the practical necessity of the case demands. Martial Law is not found necessary in Canara against a murderous insurrection of Moplas, in order to facilitate its suppression by military execution, and so long<sup>a</sup>s the Santal insurrection requires nothing more than the same sort of military execution on a larger scale, I am still of opinion that Martial Law against it remains unnecessary.

“But it does not follow that the sort of military operations requisite in the middle of July must be the sort of military operations requisite in the middle of August ; and therefore it does not follow that because Martial Law was not requisite in July it cannot be requisite in August. In my minute of the 28th of July, I wrote as follows :—

“ ‘ As to the question of Martial Law, I have no doubt that we were right in resolving against it at present ; but I should have seen no objection to our informing the Lieutenant-Governor that, after the appointment of an officer in general command, and when the present defensive measures shall have successively driven the insurgents into their hills, aggressive measures of any extent within the hills should have become necessary, it may then be very proper to consider the question of Martial Law in the country of the insurgents as a question for discussion.’

“I adhere to this opinion. I understand that such

military measures as Major-General Lloyd now proposes to take against the Santals are aggressive measures, such as I had in view when I recorded the above opinion. I understand them to be measures which could not legally be executed by the troops unless Martial Law were proclaimed. The question, I think, is this: Is it proper, as affairs now are, to enter upon operations which are neither more nor less than making war upon this tribe? If it be proper to enter upon such operations, as the tribe are our subjects, and the scene of operations is our territory, I think, certainly, Martial Law ought to be proclaimed.

"I am not in possession of sufficient local knowledge positively to judge the question—I think the local Government is the only authority which can be expected to have all the requisite local knowledge—but for the reasons assigned by my honourable colleague, General Low, and looking to the vast numbers engaged in the insurrection, the extent of country inhabited by them, the enormous plunder they carried home, the widespread and most bloody character of their incursions, the political origin now assigned to their rising, and, above all, the length of time to which the insurrection has now lasted, I am strongly inclined to the affirmative opinion; that is to say, I am most strongly inclined to believe that nothing short of the warlike measures proposed by Major-General Lloyd will give future security to the peaceful inhabitants of Western Bengal."

## SANTAL REBELLION OF 1855

*Grant's View of the Duties and Qualifications of a Commissioner in Quiet and in Troublous Times.*

"7th September.

"I BELIEVE that, besides other high qualities, a Commissioner and Superintendent of Police, who is at the head of the whole local administration of several large districts, ought to be a vigorous and active officer, and a cool and sensible man of action in an emergency. For such men the office is designed, and such men are to be got. In ordinary times such men are the best for the ordinary business of the office, and as we never know in any part of India what unlooked events a day may produce, I really do not think it safe to retain, in this particular office, any man who has proved himself to be deficient in a very extreme degree in all these indispensable qualifications. Mr ———, I daresay, may be well qualified for the sedentary and quiet, but respectable and important office of Zillah Judge, but I haven't a doubt of his incompetence for the office of a Commissioner."

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## CANALS AND IRRIGATION IN BEHAR

"4th October 1855.

"I THINK that every public consideration is in favour of such an undertaking. There is no room for doubt that the project will be remunerative, viewed merely in the light of

a commercial transaction; that is to say, it is quite certain, judging from experience in all parts of India, that the direct returns from these works will suffice to keep them in permanent repair, and will afford, besides, a permanent income largely exceeding the interest of the outlay reckoned at the highest rate of interest paid by the Indian Government.

“The indirect benefit which the Government will derive from these works by reason of the increased wealth of the Province, is very great, even viewing the case as if the Government and the people were two separate interests. But this is not the view which the British Indian Government takes of its relation to the people. It is unnecessary, at this time of day, to discuss at length the inestimable benefit to the people, in nearly every part of India, of a copious supply of water for irrigation. In the present case the quantity of produce from canal irrigation is estimated at about double the produce of the same land, irrigated at a great expense of labour partly from wells, and at about three times the produce of the same land unirrigated. The great extent to which more valuable crops are substituted for less valuable crops on land capable of being copiously irrigated, is probably of more economic importance than the increased productiveness of the land in respect of quantity alone. The immense importance of securing as many districts as possible, in as many different parts of India as possible, from famine, by reason of the occasional droughts to which the country is liable, has been recognised in all quarters; and this can only be done by means of canals of irrigation.

“Captain Dickens’ plan provides for one or more navigable canals between the Soane, at a point above

Rhotasgurrh and considerably above where the Grand Trunk Road crosses that river, and the Ganges above Patna. There can be no doubt that, at least, one Grand Trunk Channel, supplied by the Soane, can be made navigable throughout the year, without interfering with the irrigation; and I presume that there can be no doubt that the two other channels which are to reach the Ganges, can at least be made navigable in the same way for five months of the year, if it is thought advisable to do so. I am convinced that the main canal would be a work worthy of construction, as a means of water communication alone, even if not a drop were taken from it for irrigation. It will act as a feeder to the Grand Trunk Road, to the railroad, and to the Ganges navigation, running in its whole course through a populous and well-cultivated country. It will open up the value of the productions of the hilly country. It will supply the North-Western Provinces and all the Upper Ganges navigation with coal from their nearest and most natural source of supply, thus materially cheapening the steam navigation of the Ganges, and, we may hope, the locomotive expenses of the railway. It will bring firewood to some of the largest towns in India; and firewood, it should be remembered, is as great a public question in India as in France, although it is a question which has been too much neglected here. It will bring to market a very valuable limestone and good building stone. There is great reason to hope that by bringing coal, lime, and iron ore together, it will lead to the opening of iron works in the country, where unquestionably such works were once before extensively carried on, though not, says native tradition, since the days of the giants.

"If ever there was a strong case for the investment of the comparatively small sum of 61 lacs of rupees, I think this is such a case. What strength have the Ganges Canal and the Godavery and Kistna irrigation systems not given us? What moral is not the mere making of the Baree Doab Canal giving us even now in the Punjab? What Authority regrets any support or sanction it may ever have given to any one of those great works? The project before us is as promising for its extent, as was any one of the works I have named.

"This consideration brings me to the last point on which I think it necessary to remark. We have heard a good deal lately of an unusually strong feeling of disaffection in the Province of Behar. That province is known to have been for a great many years in a suspicious, discontented, and somewhat dangerous state. The Local Government believes that this general disaffection has lately been unusually excited; and however that may be, we can all remember more than one occasion when this feeling has been a matter of serious concern, even to cool heads. Now, there is perhaps only one way in which you can do real good to the native of India, so that he shall thoroughly appreciate the good that you do him, and shall feel as grateful to his benefactor as he ought to feel. That way is to bring water to his door and to his field. I am satisfied that the execution of the present project, with the resolution to extend it as it may be extended, over the greater part of Southern Behar, will do more to restore us to the confidence and affections of the people of that Province in one year than mere ordinary good Government will do in half a century.

## THE ANNEXATION OF OUDH .

THE affairs of Oudh had frequently occupied the attention of the Government of India, since the time of Lord Cornwallis, and of Lord Wellesley, at intervals, down to the year 1854. Towards the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration the aspect was so alarming that a vital change could no longer be delayed. In a masterly and comprehensive Minute, dated 18th June 1855, the Governor-General reviewed the history of the Province under the native ruler, and described at length a system of misgovernment which was unparalleled even in the darkest Oriental History. Lord Dalhousie showed conclusively that, although the Ruler of Oudh had been repeatedly warned of the consequences of continued misrule by Lord Wellesley, by Lord William Bentinck, and by Lord Hardinge, nothing whatever had been done in the way of the least reform. The worst abuses flourished unchecked; the grossest crimes and outrages remained unpunished; the revenue was collected at the point of the bayonet, and by the employment of artillery; industry was unemployed; commerce was at an end; agriculture was perishing;

and whatever sum found its way into the Treasury through a seething mass of oppression, fraud, and speculation, was wasted on buffoons and fiddlers, on eunuchs and singers, on dancing-girls and parasites. In fact, the Government of Oudh had contrived to combine in one odious system all the elements of feebleness and of ferocity, and to supply the debaucheries of Nero from the rapine of Verres.

Grant followed Lord Dalhousie, and showed that the British Government, for the sake of its own credit, as well as on behalf of a down-trodden population, was bound to interfere and could no longer be put off with vague promises of amendment. He wrote two Minutes on the subject. The first is given at length. From the second the most striking passages have been selected. There was some difference of opinion between Lord Dalhousie and the Members of Council as to the exact remedy. On the necessity for putting an end to an intolerable scandal, there was absolute unanimity and concurrence. Grant's Minutes were highly commended at the time by Lord Beaconsfield. The annexation of Oudh had the approval of the Ministry of that day.



## THE MISGOVERNMENT OF OUDH AND ITS ANNEXATIONS.

*Grant's First Minute of November 22nd 1854.*

"I SUPPORT the Governor-General's proposal with sincere satisfaction. I have always thought our long neglect of our obligations towards the people of Oudh a great moral error, and I have always openly avowed this opinion.

"In the case of Oudh, a State wholly supported by the British Government and bound to be wholly guided by that Government, I have never been able to understand how the policy of even temporary non-interference could be justifiable on any other ground than that, for the time being, non-interference was better for the people of Oudh than interference. How many years ago it is since any Statesman has maintained that ground we need not stop to count. No one, I believe, maintains that a policy of permanent non-interference would be justifiable. If a man brings his elephant into a crowd, and having the power to prevent him, does not interfere to prevent him from trampling the people to death, the Judge will hang that man exactly as if he had put the people to death with his own hand; and nothing that can be said in favour of a policy of non-interference will suspend execution of the sentence.

"Many years ago, all other measures having failed of effect, the Government of India received the authorisation of the Home Government to take the extreme measures indicated by the crying necessity of the case. One more chance, however, was allowed to the Government of this unhappy country; one more warning was given, with the solemn

assurance that it should be the last. The time for acting upon that assurance arrived five years ago, and of the long respite that has since been granted to this irreclaimable Government, not a day has been allowed because of any belief in its improvement.

“For a considerable part of this last term, the condition of Oudh has come under my eyes weekly, in the diaries of Colonel Sleeman, the Resident. It is the habit of the office to note in pencil on the outside of those diaries the more remarkable occurrences reported. A paper embodying these notes for a few months would show a continuous stream of outrages; many perpetrated by officers of the Government, many more perpetrated with their connivance. Yet these officers and their Government have no strength but what is derived from the armed support of the British Government.

“A few months ago a banker, being a British subject, was travelling, with a party of friends and servants and some property, a short way within the Oudh Frontier, when he was surrounded by a large body of the troops of the King of Oudh, the officer at their head being a civil officer such as we should designate the Commissioner or Deputy-Commissioner of the division; his property was plundered, and he and some of his servants were murdered. The Court of Oudh did all it could to bear the offenders harmless; they were (in my opinion) at last very inadequately punished, and the King gave the chief culprit a dress of honour.

“More lately still, two assassins, hired beyond doubt by some great man about the Court, attempted to murder the Resident in his bed at night, and the King virtually refused to make even the least endeavour to discover the criminals.

“On either of these occasions, and on any occasion for the last five years, if I had then been a member of the Government, I should have voted for such orders as the Most Noble the Governor-General now proposes to issue. There has been no improvement since, and therefore I cordially support the proposal now made. In so doing I feel relieved from a sense of an unfulfilled duty.”

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On 7th August 1855, Grant penned another and a longer Minute on Oudh. After reviewing the history of fifty years, the policy of the British Government, and what he termed “the long-pending cause between the King and the people of Oudh,” Grant went on to say :—

PAR. 22.—“General Outram’s report of the result of his enquiry is before us, and we have now to pass our judgment in the cause.

“The result of the enquiry is that there has been no improvement ; that there is no prospect—no chance—of improvement ; that, under the present system, the vice of the Oudh Government is inherent in its constitution. Half a century and more has proved that Oudh misgovernment, under its race of native rulers, is as bad and as incorrigible when those rulers are relieved from all necessary military charges, which form the chief burden of an ordinary State, as it was before that relief was afforded them. It has proved, too, that, practically, the British Government, acting under the treaty of 1801, is powerless to operate through

the native ruler for the amelioration of the administration in any degree. Advice and neglect, entreaty and threat, interference and non-interference, change of Prince and change of Resident, affect not the result.

PAR. 23.—“May we not conclude that this is the sure consequence of an unnatural system? What have the ministers and courtiers at this Court to care for but to gratify at the moment every caprice of their master? What has the master to fear from the neglect of his own duty? What has he to excite and nurse any germs of good there may be in him? His mind is incapable of receiving the belief that any degree of neglect or misconduct will shake him in his position, and this is the last belief which his singers and dancers, male or female, will endeavour to instil into him. It seems to me as hopeful a task to rear heart of oak in a dark cellar, as to bring up, under a foreign protectorate, a capable ruler in the palace of such a dependency as Oudh.

PAR. 24.—“After the complete and masterly array of the evidence contained in the Governor-General's Minute, it is unnecessary for me to touch this part of the case. No fair enquirer will pronounce against the view of the facts taken by his Lordship, without going through the original evidence itself; and I would ask no more of any one. Twenty pages of the Diary of Colonel Sleeman's tour through Oudh will satisfy most minds. For my own part, although our earlier connection with Oudh affairs in the unreformed times of Warren Hastings affords more than one salient point for an Englishman to grieve over, I believe that our later Protectorate has been still more culpable.

PAR. 25.—“Most heartily, therefore, do I record my con-

currence in the conclusion of the Governor-General that our existing relations with Oudh cannot be maintained, and that our policy in respect to that province must undergo a total and fundamental change."

PAR. 31.—"I perfectly understand those who, on all occasions, show a generous anxiety to uphold a tolerable native Government where such a Government exists, and I admit the strength of their arguments. I can also understand those who would substitute a British Government for an intolerable native Government, although I cannot admit that their arguments, as applied to an Indian State, have any strength. But I confess myself unable to understand those who are convinced that, in a particular case, the native Government is so extremely bad, and so hopelessly incorrigible that it must be supplanted by a British Government, but contend that this cannot properly be done, unless it be made an essential part of the scheme that, at some future indefinite time, the British Government shall be supplanted, in its turn, by the native Government, now to be set aside for its incorrigible worthlessness.

"I believe that this third opinion is held by persons of very benevolent dispositions, who, being naturally inclined to the second of the opinions I have described, find presented to their senses a case so frightful, that they feel their principle, as a living motive of action, no longer to be tenable, and instead of abandoning the principle—which is the logical necessity of the case—they take what they would call a middle course (but what is, in reality, a course irreconcilable with either view) by way of saving their principle, and saving also their sense of justice, from the shock with which the facts of the case before them afflict

it. They hope in this way to realise the benefits promised by two contradictory principles of action. But I think, if those who take this course will only argue the question out in their own minds, they will perceive that, by this course, they must fail in obtaining the benefits promised by either system of action, and must fall into evils which, by either system, would have been avoided. By a temporary management, for the reasons explained by Lord Wellesley, they fail to realise the practical, material, and direct advantages to the mass of the people which a permanent British Government surely affords; and thus they greatly weaken the case for any interference with the native Government whatsoever. By disgracefully cashiering the Native Prince for the time being, they break to pieces, as effectually by a temporary as by a permanent dethronement, all those notions (which are not of a nature to bear much rough handling) on which their own principle of a sort of right divine in Indian Provincial Viceroys rests.

PAR. 32—"But it is when, passing over the considerations that press upon us at the present moment, we come, as it is our duty to do, to look at those that will press upon the Government of the day, when British rule is to be supplanted by native rule, that the full evils of all temporary arrangements come to sight. The grand distinction between British rule and native rule is, that the former is a Government of law and the latter is not. From the moment that a Province comes under British administration law begins to grow in it; and this is the case, whether we will it or not, by an inevitable necessity. Perhaps a great many years may elapse before anything taking the formal shape of a Legislative Act is passed affecting the province, but the law is not the less certainly growing up there.

Every general order from high authority becomes in fact a law to that province, and every day more and more attention is paid to the general orders, rules of practice, and precedents, which form substantial law. This cannot happen without a gradual but decided change in the habits and feelings of the people, and without bringing daily into life some sort of property which could not exist without law. To supplant the British Government of any province by the best Native Government that ever yet existed, or was imagined to exist, is, in one moment, to abolish law, and to establish arbitrary power in its place. It is a favourite fancy with many who look only at the surface of things, that a good arbitrary Government is better for India than a Government of law. But even those who take this extremely Asiatic view of a lawless Government will admit that it is impolitic and cruel to go out of our way to introduce habits and feelings, and to create property with a premeditated design of making hereafter a change, with which what we shall have introduced and created will be incompatible. This great evil is inherent in every scheme of temporary management by British officers; and the evil has this strange quality, that whereas no good whatever could be done by a very short term of such management and the longer the term the more the good that would be done, this evil begins from nothing, and increases as the term of management increases, until at last—if the term of management were extended to a generation or two—this evil would become so great and so striking, that the re-establishment of Native Government would be impossible.

PAR. 33.—“The Honourable Court, in their despatch of 1834, wherein they yielded their consent to the proposal of

temporary management, made in India, saw that such a project was untenable, unless there were some reasonable prospect of an available Native Government, at some future time, of infinitely better character than any that is now, or ever yet has been available in Oudh. They, therefore, wisely impressed upon the Government of India the necessity of educating the heirs to the Throne of Oudh, so as to fit them to perform the duties of the occupant. The objection I have last advanced would not be met by the most successful result of any educational experiment that could be made with the Royal Family of Oudh. Moreover the truth must be told that our experiments in this line hitherto have not been generally successful and that, as far as we can ascertain the causes of failure, they are beyond our control. I believe that the education that tells on Kings, like the education that tells on all public men, is the education of the world, and this education is impossible for the Native Prince of a protected State like Oudh. I beg to be understood as not intending to say a word against the expediency and the duty of educating, as well as we can, young Princes and all other young men of rank whom we can influence; I only mean to say that schooling is one thing and statesmanship another.

PAR. 34.—“For all these reasons, temporary management of every sort appears to me an unjustifiable expedient in the present case. The only doubtful question appears to me to be between the first and the second plans set forth in the Governor-General’s Minute.”

PAR. 43.—“As to the personal stipend to be granted to the ex-King, which ought, in my opinion, to be very liberal, I trust that no arrangement may be made now,



except for the lifetime of the present ruler, leaving a fresh arrangement to be made at his death, and at the death of each of his successors. I think that the Government ought expressly to reserve the right of reducing the stipend, as it may think fit, at the death of every stipendiary. At this moment, when our minds are all full of the immense public benefits that will result from the abdication of the King of Oudh, no sum of money appears too much to pay in order to ensure these benefits. This is a true view of the case for the present day, but it will not be true for sixty years hence. We feel for Oudh exactly what was felt half a century ago, when the present enormous stipends were fixed for the Nawabs of Murshidabad, Tanjore, and Arcot, and for other pensioned princes. But, even already, those interested in the welfare and progress of India are beginning to ask : What has the country got for this vast personal expenditure ? The answer is, It has got Palaces filled with idle profligates. Then people begin to calculate what noble public works, what useful institutions, which the country is too poor now to construct or provide, might be constructed and provided, for the benefit of the millions who pay the taxes out of which these stipends are defrayed, with only a part of these vast sums. As time rolls on, and generation succeeds generation, the disproportion between the stipend and the inherent claim of the stipendiary is ever becoming greater to all eyes. The position of these Princes is, as I have said, no more than the position of an hereditary Viceroy ; and, by the theory of the Indian constitution, they and their family had no claim to hold it longer than they continued to govern their provinces tolerably well. By the practice of the Indian constitution, they never did hold

it longer ; for, when they misgoverned, if the Emperor was too weak to dethrone them, some ambitious Amir did the Emperor's duty. It is a generous thing and a politic thing, when we take away his power from an incapable Viceroy, to curtail nothing of his personal splendour, but I cannot see the propriety of treating the tenth generation of his family exactly in the same way.

PAR. 52.—“I have stated above that this measure, on a former occasion, met with a decided disapproval from the Honourable Court. I will here give an extract (paragraph 21 to 23 of the despatch of the 16th July, 1834) from the Honourable Court's despatch on this point, for facility of reference.

“‘The question on which alone any further deliberation could be required was, not whether something effectual should be done, but what should be done. This question, indeed, required much and careful consideration, such consideration as you have given to it, and as it has now received from us.

“‘The simplest course which presented itself, that of withdrawing our troops and leaving the country to its fate, would be pregnant with such evils to the country itself, and with such dangers to our own neighbouring provinces, as to render all discussion of it superfluous.

“‘It is necessary to consider what are the modes of interference to which it is possible for you to resort. You will easily perceive that they are but three.

“‘1. We may continue to interfere by advice and remonstrance only.

“‘2. We may change advice for command.

“‘3. We may take the management into our own hands.’

PAR. 53.—“It is impossible to foretell what would be

the result of such an announcement to the King as the proposed measure contemplates.

"The game would no longer be in our hands, and must go as the King should will.

"Perhaps the King, whose character I believe is weak enough, might be terrified at the idea of being left unsupported to his own resources. I willingly anticipate this as the most probable result. But it is not safe to set upon a hope as though it were a certainty. The King, no doubt, is told every day of his life that he is a wonderful monarch. All I know of him is that he is so little aware of his own situation, that he does not perceive it to be a ridiculous thing in him to write to the Resident about the great administrative reforms he has introduced. Such a prince, possibly, may not be prone to think that his life depends on foreign bayonets. Nor, indeed, do I think it probable that, if Oudh were left to itself, the King's life would be taken—at least for a considerable time. It would not be for the interest of the King's disreputable friends and advisers to counsel abdication; it would be for their interest to take all chances of the future, were they ten times worse than they really are, rather than to lose, immediately and for ever, all the advantages of their present position. If there should be in the King's Council but one person of courage and genius, though it should be but a dancing girl (such as Indian annals show many), the King might be led to elect disconnection rather than abdication. Now, what will that election bring upon the people? No man can pretend to prophesy exactly what the ultimate result would be, but we may surely reckon upon a terrible crisis of anarchy as one of the stages that must be gone through. I do not know that we have a

right to expect, as the ultimate result, any happier catastrophe than the rising up of an infinity of petty independent Chiefs all over the country, who may, or may not, be at perpetual war with one another, admitting, perhaps, a nominal sovereignty in a King at Lucknow, who may be the present King, or may be his murderer. I find it difficult to look favourably on a measure which may bring all this about.

PAR 59.—“I will finish this long paper with a recapitulation of the conclusions at which I have arrived.

“I believe that Oudh affords an extreme case of incorrigibly bad administration, which, considering the mutual relations of the two Governments, imposes upon the Government of India the duty of adopting immediately an extreme remedial measure.

“I think that the measure of assuming the temporary management of the country, which this Government has authority to put into execution, would not give a good and effective government to the people of Oudh, and that it is open to such grave objections, that it ought not to be put into execution.

“I think the incorporation of Oudh with the territories immediately administered by the British Indian Government the best measure, upon the whole, that can be adopted for the good government of the people of Oudh; and I think the East India Company has a clear right to adopt that measure. I therefore agree with Mr Dorin, in humbly recommending that the Government of India be authorised to put that measure into execution, with or without the King's consent, declaring, at the same time, the treaty of 1801 violated and at an end.

"If this measure be disapproved, I humbly recommend that the Government of India be authorised to put into execution the somewhat different measure preferred by the Governor-General, with or without the King's consent, making the declaration as to the treaty of 1801.

"If it be determined that no measure of interference with the King, not warranted by the treaty of 1801, can rightfully be enforced without the King's consent, I humbly recommend that the said treaty be *not* declared at an end, and that such measures be enforced under it as shall place all real power in the hands of the Resident, or of a minister approved by him, the King being advised absolutely to abstain from all interference with the affairs of his kingdom, and being obliged to act in accordance with that advice."

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### MADRAS REVENUE

THE following extract from the Minute on the Madras Revenue Survey and Settlement shows Grant's ability to master the principles and details of a system which did not come within the range of his previous experience, and which was dissimilar to what prevails in Bengal and the North-West Provinces :—

*"March 1856.*

"The question then arises: Is it unavoidable in the nature of things, that a system of collection directly from

the ryots must be afflicted with the two great evils I have above mentioned ?

“ 1. Official interference, oppression, and extortion.

“ 2. The discouragement of the reclaiming of uncultivated land.

“ It is unnecessary to stop to argue that in fact these evils now exist ; reasoning *a priori*, we are led to conclude that under the existing practice both evils must exist, whilst the Madras Torture Enquiry and a glance at the revenue returns of the last half century show that they do exist. In the present Resolution it is stated that three-fourths of the culturable lands are lying waste, and that for the last thirty-four years, ever since the present Ryotwar Settlement was made, though population has largely increased there, there has been scarcely any increase of cultivation or of land revenue. The question, then, whether evils having such effect can be avoided or not under the system of direct collection, which is said to be avoidable, is of extreme importance.

PAR. 12.—“ I cannot help thinking that under a fair and moderate assessment, which the Madras Government, so greatly to their honour, fully intend to introduce, all that is necessary to reduce the first evil to a minimum (beyond that degree of good local administration without which every system is bad) is to allow the villagers *annually* to nominate one or more persons through whom their payments shall be made on certain fixed dates. If the full instalments are paid on those days, the Tehsildar and his people will have no excuse for entering the village which has paid up ; and if otherwise, they will have no excuse for communicating with any ryot, but those whose instalments are in arrear. With some such arrangement as this added to the

other precautions which the Madras Government propose to introduce, in order to restrict the necessity for interference on the part of the Tehsildar with the private affairs of the cultivator, I believe infinite good could be done. But then it must be remembered that however simple this reform may appear, it cannot bear fruit till the officers of the department generally can be got to change the principles on which all existing practice has been formed. Minute daily interference with the ryots is reckoned among native officers the test of fiscal capacity; and to let people alone to manage their own affairs their own way is what no Madras Tehsildar would own to doing.

PAR. 13.—“To escape in any material degree the second evil, the existence of which is now the opprobrium of Southern India, is perhaps more difficult. The system in its material points I understand to be this. Every ryot has a right to continue to cultivate his holding at his fixed rates of assessment, field by field, and he cannot be ejected or have his rent raised (if he really pays the true rate) so long as he pays his assessment. His holding is his property subject to the fixed charge of the assessment. Every ryot has also the right to throw up the whole or *any specific portion* of his holding; and if he does so, any other ryot may take it who will pay this fixed assessment. In practice, owing to the inequality and severity of the rates, ryots have not been allowed to throw up what is called bad land, meaning land of any quality unfairly over-assessed, without also throwing up a proportionate quantity of good land, meaning land of any quality fairly assessed. But this is a monstrous abuse, contrary to common law and feeling, to which most justly and wisely the Madras Government intends to put a stop. Under this system a vast quantity

of land lies uncultivated, as useless to mankind as if it were under the sea, a great proportion of which is owned by individual ryots, who only leave it uncultivated because they are not allowed to cultivate it unless they pay a commission to do so, more than the land is worth. Under any natural order of things the charge for cultivating this waste land would be reduced without reference to any but this one consideration, namely, what will any one be induced to offer for it? The landlord, if there were one, and if he were in possession of his reason, or the Ruler, if there were no landlord, would say, 'If I can't get 2 rupees an acre for this land, I will take 1 rupee rather than go without anything; if I can't get 1 rupee I will take 8 annas or 1 anna; if I can't get anything at all for it now, rather than let it lie waste, I will allow any one to cultivate it who will agree to pay me something for it some years hence.' But, in the artificial and false order of things which exist at Madras at this day, exactly as we found it when we took the country from the semi-barbarians who preceded us (whose whole design was to raise rents to an unnatural height, in order to squeeze the entire population to the utmost), it is obvious that this simple and just line of conduct would not do. The over-assessed ryot would throw up all his old land, and would betake himself to the more lightly assessed or the free waste land. So enormous is the quantity of dry land lying waste in Southern India,\* that it is impossible for a Government which cannot exist without a land revenue, to adopt at

\* I perceive that, in the ryotwar districts, above 40,000,000 of acres of culturable land are estimated to be now lying uncultivated—a quantity about three times greater than the quantity of cultivated land in the same district.



once, and without restrictions, the natural and sound system. Under this oppressive difficulty the Madras Government hitherto has done nothing—certainly nothing general and effectual.

PAR. 14.—“Where the proportion of uncultivated to cultivated land is not excessive, and where you have an *intelligent and acceptable* middleman, who makes himself responsible for the existing assessments, you get over the difficulty with the greatest facility by giving him for the term of years for which he is responsible for the revenue, the rights of Government, *whatever they may happen to be*, in the whole waste land of the village. This is what has been done here from the commencement, and we see how agriculture has been encouraged by the plan. For his own interest the middleman will not allow transfers whereby the aggregate rental of the village would be reduced. All increase of cultivation whereby that aggregate is not reduced, benefits the whole country without loss to the Government. In the southern districts of Madras we are told that this system of middleman must not be adopted in any shape. But are we sure that the same object cannot be gained by any modification of the ryotwar system other than the introduction of the middleman? I believe that it can.”

PAR. 16.—“*Valuation of the Land.*—I entirely agree with those who, on this all-important point, advise constant recourse to Sir Thomas Munro’s system of going to the authorities themselves for the determination of this question in each instance where doubt exists. Though many of those who have written on this point hold this opinion, I do not find that it is required distinctly in the Government Resolution.

PAR. 17.—“*Rate of Assessment.*—I very much doubt the soundness of the principle which would fix the Government assessment at any fixed proportion of the value of the crop, or even with any direct reference to the value of the crop. My notion of a fair and equable assessment is, that every ryot, whatever be the nature and quality of his land, shall be required, as nearly as possible, to pay the same per centage of the annual value thereof;’ excepting where that annual value has been increased by the expenditure of his own capital. Now, it is well known that the more fertile the land, the greater, as a general rule, is the proportion of the crop that represents its annual value or rent. It constantly happens that for two fields not far from one another one-third of the value of the crop would be a light rent for one, and a tenth of the value of the crop would be an excessive rent for the other. This is well known in British farming; and the two cases of wet land and dry land afford a still more striking example of this recognised theory than anything to be seen in Britain. On the other hand, there are particular crops, as in the case of gardens, where labour, etc., forms so large an item in the expenditure, that the value of the crop is no criterion of the rent whatever.”

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## STATE PROSECUTIONS

THE following extract lends strength to the recent law for some control over the native Press and for some means of at once repressing sedition and open disloyalty. Only those who have studied the

vernacular papers published in the Urdu and Bengali languages, and realise the extent to which the action of Government and its officers is spitefully and deliberately misrepresented every week, can judge of the absolute necessity for a censorship. An article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, October 1897, proves this incontestably, and shows that some such measure is indispensable, when the same Government is always "in," and the same Opposition is always "out," for years and generations.

*Question of the Prosecution of a Native Paper called "The Durbeen" (Telescope) at the time of the Mutiny.*

"19th July 1857.

PAR. 2.—"I think it a very hazardous step for Government to take, viz. to press a State prosecution against the advice of its Law Officers; more especially so when that officer is a gentleman on whose judgment it has such great general confidence as we all have in Mr Ritchie's judgment. The Advocate-General is daily exercised before the Judges and juries, on whose voices the fate of this case will rest, and the business therefore is one in which he should know best. The case does not seem to me to involve any question of State larger than this principle of policy, namely, that the Government should never undertake a political prosecution, unless there was a strong probability of success, and a moral certainty of coming off without discredit. Mr Ritchie's report gives me no confidence in these respects."

ABSENCE OF THE VICEROY FROM HEAD-  
QUARTERS

AN Extract from a Minute of the 13th July 1858 is valuable, as it shows the administrative difficulties caused by the absence of the Governor-General from his Council and from Headquarters. It is true that these difficulties are no longer felt, inasmuch as for some years it has been the practice of the Viceroy, with his whole Council, his Secretaries, and their various establishments, to reside in the Hills during the hot weather and rainy season, or from April to September inclusive. But the Minute has a legal and historical value, and the mention of Lord Dalhousie, and Grant's hearty recognition of his statesmanship, will interest all who served under that Governor-General, or who dispassionately consider his long, vigorous, and successful administration. Nor can Grant's deliberate opinion of the ill-fated Afghan expedition of 1838 be passed over in silence.

PAR. 3.—“I do not see all the difficulties which my honourable colleague appears to see in the removal, temporarily, of the whole of the Executive Council to some place in the Provinces. I believe that the Legislative Council would

do as much and as good work as it does now, if it sat on the usual plan of periodical Session, leaving its merely legislative members to prepare the work in Committees in the intervals. A daily sitting of a month is as much as six months of sittings once a week. I believe, too, that the financial business of the Executive Council could be done at Allahabad, or elsewhere out of Calcutta, if one secretary were left in Calcutta, without any material inconvenience. But with the exception of this point, on which I differ in degree, I am bound to say that I concur in the general argument of my honourable colleague, and that I feel as strongly on the subject as he does.

PAR. 4.—“If I had a voice in the constitutional question, I would give it in favour of the alteration recommended by Mr Ricketts. And as it is, I see no insurmountable obstacle to the Executive Council going to Allahabad; and I am of opinion that, on the whole, it would be to the public advantage could it do so. I am quite convinced that the work of reconstruction, in both civil and military departments, whenever it may be undertaken, should be done in full Council, presided over by the Head of the Council, in preference to being made the subject of written communications and deliberations separately, which is the alternative.

PAR. 5.—“It is very many years since I first considered this question, but having been in the Central Provinces when Act IV. of 1858 was passed, it has so happened that I have once only had occasion to record my opinion. This occurred in December 1854, when Lord Dalhousie's health failed, after his severe and uninterrupted labours of years, and when he desired to go to the Nilgiri Hills in order to recruit it. That case differed from all others in which the

provisions of the Statute now in question have been resorted to. There could not be a moment's doubt in the mind of any man who had watched Lord Dalhousie's daily work for years as I had, and who appreciated the value of the work as I did, of the propriety, indeed the necessity, of his going away. No member of the Government gave a more sincere or a more unreserved consent to the measure than I did. On that occasion relaxation from all but unavoidable labour was half the object of the measure. Accordingly, in the Resolution then passed for the distribution of business, it was determined that, as a general rule, all despatches should come to the President in Council, and that only questions of general importance should be transmitted to the Governor-General with or without an expression of opinion, to be by him either disposed of or returned for final orders as he should see fit. On that occasion, therefore, the objections felt by Mr Ricketts and myself to great and general questions being decided without a council while an expensive council is maintained, could have no place.

PAR. 6.—“Nevertheless, in the Minute in which I recorded my unqualified assent to Lord Dalhousie's proposal, I thought it my duty to say the following words, indicative of my views on the general subject of a Governor-General's separation from his Council :—

“With advertence to the general topics that have been touched upon in the Minute of the Most Noble the Governor-General, I should be wanting in candour if I did not, on this occasion, state what has been for years past my unreserved opinion (an opinion formed rather from watchful experience than from theory), namely, that

no part of the work of the Government of India is ever so well done, by whichever part of the machine it is done, when the Governor-General and the Council are separate, as when they are together. I may also, I think, without blame, state upon this occasion, my conviction that if the period of the currency of the late Charter Act had been a peaceful period, infinite public good would have been derived from carrying into practical effect that part of the well-conceived design of that Act which freed the mass of the Council of India from being for ever tied to one spot in all the enormous territory committed to the general supervision of the Governor-General in Council.

“Having said so much, however, I am bound to say that, without seeing a practical impossibility in the matter, I so far agree with the Governor-General as to think that the present Charter Act, whether designedly or otherwise, in the magnificent improvement of Legislative machinery which it has introduced, has placed a great practical difficulty in the way of acting upon the locomotive principle, which was, and still is, a constitutional element of the Executive Government of India. (See my Minute, Home Department, of 6th December 1854, No. 238 of Consultation, 19th January 1855).”

PAR. 7.—“In the above extract it is stated that my opinion on this subject had been formed rather from experience than from theory. The system I spoke of commenced in Lord Auckland’s government. My first experience was the unwise and evil expedition to destroy the independence of our natural allies, the Afghans; and since that time (I speak only of affairs which have passed into the calm page of history) no great measure of Indian politics, which has

been condemned after the passionate and factious feelings of the moment have subsided, has ever been taken when the Governor-General and his Council were together. We ought not to refuse to be taught by such a fact."

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## BIBLE-READING CLASSES IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

THE Minute on a proposal to have Bible-Reading classes in Government schools is given *in extenso*. It deals with a difficult controversial question which has been felt, and may be again experienced, in other countries. While the arguments against sanctioning any such proposal seem sound and convincing, the tone of the paper is not calculated to give offence to the most devout and earnest Christian.

"14th November 1860.

PAR. 1.—"The exact point which I consider to be doubtful in the course proposed by Mr M. is, whether any master of a Government school should be allowed to lecture a class *in the school house* upon religious subjects.

"PAR. 2.—The question involves many more difficulties, and much more serious consequences, than at first sight appear. And it does not seem to me that the passages, noticed in Mr Grey's letter, from the two well-known Despatches of 1854 and 1857 therein-mentioned, dispose



of it. There is now no question of explanation and instruction by a teacher in a Government institution. There are no doubts on that point. Nothing prevents any teacher who pleases so giving such explanations and instruction. But there is a great difference between private teaching of that sort by a person who happens to be a professor or master in a Government institution, upon a subject which is not treated in the class-room, and establishing Bible or Theology classes in the class-rooms of Government schools and colleges, which is what is now in question. It seems to me that the despatches noted maintain this distinction broadly.

PAR. 3.—“Mr M. is an irreproachable Christian gentleman, but he is not in Holy Orders, and I do not know precisely of what persuasion of Christians he is, or what may be his doctrinal views or his theological attainments. I do not, however, in the least doubt that, in this instance, the teacher would give such expositions of the Scriptures as would be generally accepted by members of the Reformed Church. The point of doubt is entirely general. For, unless the Government of India undertakes to inculcate as a Government, and to enforce by official action the tenets of a particular Church, exclusively and offensively as against all other tenets (a measure which I believe to be intended by no sober-minded person), then, if Mr M. obtains the permission which he asks for, any other Christian gentleman of whatsoever creed or sect he chooses, must be permitted to do the like. The question then is, at the least, this: Shall the class-rooms of the Indian Government schools and colleges be opened for the teaching, the irresponsible and unregulated teaching of every variety of Christian creed, and every variety of creed which

calls itself Christian, which will, of course, involve the privilege of assailing all creeds?

PAR. 4.—“It does not appear to me that the condition of voluntary attendance at these theological classes has any very substantial bearing on the general question; for, in fact, all attendance by students at Government schools and colleges is voluntary.

PAR. 5.—“It must always be remembered, in considering this question, that as the Bible Readings will be no part of the institutional course, and as the principle of religious equality and freedom is established in India by law [no person being ineligible for any office, from the highest downwards, by reason of his creed], no one will have any power over the lecturer in respect to the class in question. Thus, however these readings may degenerate into sectarian wranglings, even though the lecturer in one room should do nothing but attack and vilify the tenets set forth in the rooms on either side; and whatever extravagancies of doctrine may be inculcated, even though they should be such as to shock the great majority of sincere Christians who may hear of them, there will be no help for it. Our educational institutions, though still professing to be simply secular, may become the arenas of bitter religious controversy; and doctrines may be inculcated in schools established by the British Government which are abominable to the great body of the people of Great Britain. The Government of India surely cannot constitute itself an ecclesiastical authority; and without so doing there is no possibility of drawing a line between religious doctrines anywhere. Not only must our colleges be as free for the use of expositors in the sense of the Church of Rome, as for the use of those in the sense of the Church of Geneva;

they must be open to Unitarian and Trinitarian alike; to an ignorant visionary as well as to the most learned and soundest theologian.

PAR. 6.—“Apart from the political question, it is my conviction that the sincerest Christians of all established creeds are those who would find such a state of things, in practice, the most offensive.

PAR. 7.—“But the question is still more general than this, and involves therefore still more startling consequences. Unless the Government of India abandons the position of a simply temporal Government, and assumes all the responsibilities and incurs all the dangers of authoritative interference with the religious feelings and liberties of the people—unless it ceases to found itself upon the principle of absolute equality in matters connected with the administration of public affairs between its subjects of all religious creeds, and takes up the office of a spiritual director, supported by the secular arm, for the countless millions of Hindus and Muhammadans under it—no line can be drawn between any one religion and another. The liberty of religious teaching in Government institutions accorded to a Christian teacher cannot be refused to a Hindu or Muhammadan teacher. The question is treated at Home in seeming ignorance that the mass of teachers in India are Hindus and Muhammadans, and that the Christian teachers are, and cannot now but be, a very small minority. If, then, our schools and colleges are to become places of religious teaching, and if the Holy Scriptures are to be freely handled within their walls, the result may be unseemly in a manner little anticipated by those who press for allowing lectures on religion within the Government schools. By Act of Parliament, a

Muhammadan, as such, might hold any office in India from the highest downwards. He has as much right to be a master of a school, other things being equal, as a Christian has. Whilst such is the constitution of India, it is impossible to forbid his doing in any place with his Koran what a Christian teacher is allowed to do in the same place with his Bible. And if any teacher, being an unbeliever in Christianity, were to lecture against it, supposing our schools to be opened to religious instruction, he must do so, or Government must give up even the show of non-interference with religion; and we must submit to the taunt that we refuse other religions a fair stage because we have no confidence in the religion we profess.

PAR. 8.—“I must say that, in either case, in my opinion, the popularity and influence of Government and the respectability and usefulness of the Government schools would be lessened, whilst I am confident that the cause of true religion would suffer material injury.

PAR. 9.—“Apart from all considerations affecting only the Christian religion, I believe that the sufferance of lecturing on religion in Government institutions would be a fatal error. It is not merely a fanciful objection to say that the controversies of Hindu sects, if allowed to take root in our Government establishments, might make the progress of education in those establishments impossible. In the Jessore school last year, I find that one of the Hindu masters, being of the new Brahma Sabha sect, commenced a system of lecturing, after hours, those of his pupils who chose to stay, in accordance with the religious ideas of his sect. Nothing, as far as I can understand, could be more unobjectionable, and, indeed, in a general view, holy, according to our ideas, than the religious

precepts which he inculcated ; but they were not those of the old and established sects of Hinduism, and the school was likely to suffer. The Hindu members of the Local School Committee warmly took up the matter, exactly as the matter would have been taken up in Ireland if a master in a Government college had begun to inculcate Romanist or Protestant doctrines in his college classroom. The School Committee, in my opinion very wisely, told the master that he might, as an individual, and in his own house, or elsewhere wherever permitted, recommend his own, religious opinions as much as he pleased, but that he must abstain from inculcating them in the school, which is neutral ground, to which all heads of families expect to be able to send their children for the purpose of secular education, without running the risk of having them led to adopt the peculiar doctrines of sects obnoxious to them. The result has been that the school has not suffered, and that the reformed doctrines of the Brahma Sabha stand on their own ground, with no adventitious or illegitimate aid, which is exactly what every fair Hindu, confident in the truth of those doctrines, would desire. Had the Committee acted otherwise, some other master would have set up lectures in a contrary sense, which it would have been impossible to prohibit, and the school would have either ceased to exist, or have degenerated into a place of controversy for rival Hindu sects.

PAR. 10.—“If the general permission now sought had been previously accorded, the Jessore School Committee could not possibly have kept their school free from this danger.

PAR. 11.—“There is another point of view from which this question must be regarded. As truly and merely establish-

ments for secular learning, our schools and colleges are good and satisfactory institutions. Secular learning is in them fairly taught, and higher things are left to the qualified teachers of higher things. But whilst the opening of theological classes in these schools and colleges would, in real truth, as well as in all outward appearance, remove them from the category of places of merely secular education, and would make them partly places of religious education, such provision as is projected would be altogether deficient and ineffectual in the latter capacity. The measure would be an undertaking of the highest things, and an undergoing of all the responsibilities involved in such undertaking, with means shamefully unequal to the objects. Many persons who mean well, but who speak unjustly, from failing to see the true position of our Indian Government schools and colleges, and the sound principle, in a religious aspect, on which they are founded, have said hard things of these institutions. But the hardest thing that has ever been said of them would be, in my view, too mild for institutions not purely secular in reality as in profession, which should make no better provision for religious instruction than the present project contemplates.

PAR. 12.—“What, then, is the object in view which is thought so important as to counterbalance such evils as I have above but slightly glanced at? Nothing prevents a teacher in a Government institution holding what theological classes he pleases as a private man in his own house, or anywhere but within the walls of a Government school or college. What is his object in insisting upon holding his class within those walls and nowhere else? It can only be that the particular views he inculcates may derive

some sort of advantage from the connection with, Government which their exposition in a Government class-room will give them. Now, is this advantage, whatever it be, a fair and legitimate advantage? I am sure that if the question is asked of any man, in relation to a religious view of which he disapproves, he will answer in the negative. And certainly the essence of the general question is not in the special character of the religious view taken by the lecturer in any instance.

PAR. 13.—“On the whole, I conclude that the wise and just answer to Mr M.’s application is, that he is at perfect liberty to hold such a class as he wishes to hold in his own house, or elsewhere out of college; but, as Government schools and colleges are not intended for any but secular education, and do not undertake and could not regulate theological instruction, his class of theology must not be held in the Berhampore College.

PAR. 14.—“All questions of this nature are so apt to give occasion for misconception of sentiments and objects on points in which right-minded men feel misconceptions most tenderly, that I am glad, before closing this very insufficient paper, to support my view by referring to the authority, as well as to the arguments of a gentleman who must, on all hands, be admitted to be so well qualified to give an opinion upon this very difficult and important subject, as the Rev. Dr Kay, Principal of Bishop’s College. I am permitted to append correspondence between the Director of Public Instruction and the Principal of Bishop’s College on this question, from which it will be seen that, starting from higher ground than the working day and practical level to which I have confined my views, Dr Kay comes to the same conclusion as I do.”

## EMPLOYMENT OF ENGLISH CAPITAL IN INDIA.

*Extract from a Minute of 17th August 1860, Showing on what Conditions English Capital can be Equitably and Profitably Employed in the Districts of India.*

"I HAVE never formed or expressed but one opinion on Indigo Planting. This opinion is, that so far as it is conducted justly and lawfully, in accordance with the rights of all parties, upon sound commercial principles, and by the free will and to the mutual benefit of all concerned, like the trade in other staples, it is a source of national wealth, deserving of the same high consideration as all the great branches of trade. But so far as it is conducted unjustly or unlawfully, in disregard of the rights of any class, upon the false principles of a forced cultivation, unprofitable or oppressive to the cultivator of the raw material, it is an evil of great magnitude, whether in its political or its commercial aspect, and one which urgently requires correction. This correction whenever actually required, I have always thought, and I continue to think, will be self-acting and complete in the natural course of things, under a legitimate, vigorous, and truly impartial magisterial action, which, leaving disputes in civil cases to be settled by the constituted Civil Tribunals, abstaining from all support of



either party not warranted by the law, will give that equal protection from unlawful violence to both parties, in practice, which the law, in theory, has always intended."

Lord Canning said to the writer of this memoir, that the Minute from which this short extract is taken was one of the ablest State papers he had ever read in his life.

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An account of the Indigo trouble is given in Part I. The Minute on the Report of the Indigo Commission extends to thirty-four pages of print, and long as the following extract may appear, it comprises not more than twenty of its paragraphs. It was thought imperative to give Grant's reasons and arguments at length, seeing that the views and wishes of the Planters obtained a strong support from the Indian Press and from some powerful journals in England. The collapse of an important industry in India or England cannot be contemplated without regret; and it must never be forgotten that the excitement caused by the Sepoy Mutiny, which was only brought to an end about eighteen months before the Indigo crisis, led the community to distrust Natives and to sympathise

with Englishmen. Indeed, it is scarcely possible for any one who was not in India at that period to estimate the extent to which popular feeling tended to warp the judgment of some sober-minded, practical, and sensible men. In making extracts from Grant's Minutes on this head, the earnest endeavour has been to avoid all personalities, to show that the Indigo system was much more in fault than the individual, and to omit anything like a reflection on officials or non-officials who, at that time, differed from Grant as to the necessity for any special legislation or remedy. But all politicians and those who honour his character and memory should have an opportunity of realising the serious difficulties with which he had to contend, and to estimate the force of his reasoning, the equity of his administration, and the integrity of his purpose. No one now, in Press or Parliament, Radical, Unionist, or Conservative, would propose to convert a breach of Civil contract into a Criminal offence, in support of any one industry or trade. But it required much strength of character and tenacity of purpose, in 1860, to resist a proposal to place a law of the above kind permanently on the Statute Book.

## MINUTE.

PAR. 19.—“*Why the Ryots have only now renounced Indigo.*—I have said that there has been of late years a great and marked decrease of the gravest and most striking classes of cases of oppression and open violence. It will be asked, How, then, has it happened that the general renouncement of Indigo ryotty cultivation, which has just occurred in the principal Indigo Districts of Bengal Proper, has only now occurred, when things, in this respect, are better than they were? I believe the answer is found in a combination of various circumstances. The improvement of the police, which has checked affrays, has, as I believe, driven those to whom some means or other of forcing a cultivation unprofitable to the cultivators was a matter of necessity, to other methods of inducement more harassing, on the whole, than an occasional severe example. The stoppage of all competition amongst planters for ryots must, of late years, have very greatly increased the weight bearing down the individual ryot; and the withdrawal from him of such protection as he before obtained from Zamindars, not being indigo planters, must have had a like effect. There have been less friction, fewer stoppages, and less noise of late years, and the pressure of the machine must have been more effective in consequence. There is reason also to infer from the evidence that the demand, in some places at least, has been more severe of late upon the ryot, in the quantity of indigo cultivation required of him, and in the labour, required in weeding and tending the crop, than was formerly the case. But the great aggravation of all is due

to the late rise of prices. It is in evidence\* that all agricultural produce has risen in value, within the last three years or so, to double or very nearly double its former price; and that day labour, and the cost of the maintenance of cattle, has increased in price in the same way. As the single root of all that was at any time wrong in the Bengal Indigo system is in the one fact that the manufacturer did not pay the full cost of the plant; and as there has been no increase in the price paid for this one crop since the above-mentioned extraordinary rise in prices generally, here alone is a cause which must have doubled the evil of the cultivation to the ryot. The direct money loss was doubled; and as that was the cause of all the other evils, it seems reasonable to assume that they also were increased in the same ratio. No planter pressed upon ryots without an object; and his only possible object was to obtain indigo plant, which would not be spontaneously grown for him at the price he gave. We may be sure that the pressure which is just enough to induce a ryot to sacrifice 10 rupees must be materially increased to induce him quietly to sacrifice 20.

PAR. 20.—“It is indeed in itself an all-sufficient exposition of the character of the Bengal Indigo system to state, what is denied by none, that whilst within a few years the prices of all agricultural produce have doubled, or nearly doubled, the price paid, or nominally paid, for indigo plant has not been raised by a single anna; and that until the ryots had, as it were, declared open war, it is not shown that a single planter, for several years past, had ever entertained a thought of any increase of price.

\* See the evidence *passim*, and especially Appendix to the Report, Part I. Nos. 3 and 4.

PAR. 21.—“Whilst the pressure had, in this manner, become intolerable, the improved administration which, by an increase of Sub-Divisions, gave the ryots access to magisterial courts, showed them that, practically, the protection of the law was no longer hopeless; and they came to realise the fact that in the matter of contracting to grow indigo, they were, in truth, free agents.

PAR. 22.—“The Indigo Commission, as has been said, report that the crisis which occurred in 1860 might have occurred in any other year. The combined effect of all the foregoing considerations upon my mind is, that no human power exerted in defiance of the law, in support of the system, could have upheld it much longer; and that if the Government had disregarded justice and policy so far as to make the attempt, it would have been speedily punished by a great agrarian rising, the destructive effects of which, upon European and all other capital, no man can calculate.

PAR. 26.—“The first head discussed in the Report is the position of the Indigo Planter, so far as the tenure of land is concerned, and his relations with the native Zamindars. The Commissioners show, conclusively, that in this respect there is nothing to complain of, or to amend. A European is as free to acquire any tenure as any other person is, if he has the money to pay for it, and can find a holder willing to sell. Practically, though native Zamindars will never, till constrained by the prospect of absolute ruin, sell their tenures, there is no difficulty in purchasing from them under-tenures, which are as effectual, and can be made, under an Act\* which I had myself the pleasure of introducing, as secure as the chief tenure. The Zamindari tenure, and all derivative and subordinate

\* Act XI. of 1859.

tenures, confer the right to rents, variable or invariable ; subject to the payment therefrom of the Government revenue ; and they are valued because of their money profits and the influence over the ryots which they give ; but they do not generally convey the dominion of the land, which resides for the most part in the ryot, having the right of occupancy, whose tenure is anterior to, and independent of, that of the Zamindar. As far as the Zamindari tenure goes, it is shown that Planters have, in practice, every reasonable and natural facility for obtaining, permanently or temporarily, all the rights which that tenure gives, and that native Zamindars generally have no hostility to them as a class.\*

PAR. 32.—“ The Commissioners pronounce conclusively that the cultivation is unprofitable to the ryot, supporting the conclusion by the consentaneous evidence of the planters themselves.† This is, indeed, the one point upon which the whole Indigo question turns, and it is not disputed. I do not find that the Commissioners have gone so far into this point as to settle to what degree, pecuniarily, the cultivation is unprofitable, though that it is so to a very extreme degree is sufficiently apparent from the strength of the feeling against it amongst those who would profit by it if it were profitable, and who ought to profit by it, and must profit by it, if it is to be carried on at all. There is, however, a great mass of most valuable evidence upon this point in the Appendix of the Report. I have gone into it to satisfy my own mind upon this point. and the result has convinced me that the loss of the ryot in the cultivation of this crop on the high lands of Nuddea and Jessore is, at the present time of agricultural high

\* Report, Pars. 40-55.

† Report, Par. 60.

prices, greatly beyond even the general opinion on the subject. In a separate note appended to this Minute, I have referred to the evidence proving this. Rejecting all extreme cases, and giving indigo the benefit of all doubts, I cannot put the absolute loss to the ryot at a low average [reckoning the net loss on the cultivation of indigo at the highest price now allowed, and the loss on the net profit the ryot would make by any other ordinary crop at the market price], at less than 7 rupees a beegah, equivalent at the least to seven times the rent of the land.

PAR. 33.—“Now if one remembers that these ryots are not Carolina slaves, but the free yeomanry of this country, and indeed, strictly speaking, the virtual owners of the greater part of the land in the old cultivated parts of Bengal, so heavy a loss as this will fully account to us for the strength of the opposition to indigo cultivation which we have just experienced. One-sixteenth of his whole land is a common proportion which, it is insisted, an indigo ryot shall sow in indigo. This is as though a farmer in Great Britain, farming under a long lease 160 acres of land, at a rent of £2 an acre, were, by some sort of pressure, forced to cultivate 10 acres, say in flax, which he was compelled to sell to a certain neighbouring manufacturer at a dead loss of £140 a year. This is precisely a parallel case, in the legal and economical view. In the social and political view, the case of a new English landlord forcing a corresponding loss upon several thousand Irish cotters would perhaps be a fairer illustration.

“On the actual question of fact as to the dislike of ryots to indigo cultivation on the old system, the Report of the Commission is conclusive as to the intensity of the feeling. \*

\* Report, Par. 131.

Indeed, the Report, which in the mildness of its tone is admirable, can give but a faint impression of the intensity of the feeling on the ryots' part, compared to that which a reader will derive from a perusal of the appended evidence of the ryots themselves, and of the Missionaries\* who, living in unconstrained private intercourse with the ryots around them, know the feelings of the whole class of ryots better than any other Europeans do.

"This is the great point of political bearing in the whole question, and it cannot be too attentively considered by all who have any responsibility for the tranquillity of the country, and the strength of the British Government within it. I would ask especially a perusal of the answers just noted in the margin. If any one thinks that such a demonstration of strong feeling by hundreds of thousands of people as we have just witnessed in Bengal, has no meaning of greater importance than an ordinary commercial question concerning a particular blue dye, such a person, in my opinion, fatally mistakes the signs of the times.

"On the whole, my conclusion on this point is that, setting aside individual cases, having no connection, or, at least no necessary connection with the Indigo system, that system is fairly chargeable with a notable portion of those classes of offences, the peculiar prevalence of which in Bengal has been, from the first, a blot in our administration. In my opinion, it is rather the system than the Planters individually who are to be blamed. It is to the unprofitableness of the cultivation of indigo, at the extremely inadequate price given for it under the system, necessitating either a forced cultivation, or the abandonment of the manufacture

See especially Answers 138, 918, 1249, 1262, 1351, 1165, 1624, 1625, and 3214.



from Bengal ryotty plant, that this and every other evil connected with indigo is attributable. An individual manufacturer could not live upon a fair and free system, surrounded on all sides by competitors who get their raw produce without paying nearly its full value. That a whole class did not spontaneously reform itself from within is not surprising. The chief fault was in the defective, and I fear I must say, the not impartial administration of the law, which allowed such a vicious state of things to exist where our fellow-countrymen were concerned; a state which very certainly would have been put down with a high hand, if only native gentlemen had been concerned.

"On minor points, the Commissioners find that when the assistance of the police is required in disputes between ryot and planter, their venality must be to the present advantage of the richer party, whilst ordinarily the police have no concern with the bargains of Planter and ryot.\* They find, too, from the admissions of the Planters themselves, and from the whole tenor of the orders usually passed in disputes about indigo, that the charge so often brought against the Civil Officers of Government, of favouring native Zamindars and ryots from dislike to their own countrymen, and from a desire to keep them out of the country, falls completely to the ground, † as I may say so preposterous a charge, whenever examined by sensible men, could not but do. On the contrary, they find that Magistrates have not always been sufficiently alive to the position of the ryots, nor accorded to them a due share of protection and support. They say, 'It is not too much to say that, had all Magistrates held the scales in equal balance, a cultivation of the character which we have clearly shown

\* Report, Par. 112.

† Report, Par. 115.

indigo to be, would not have gone on for such a length of time.' I am obliged to support the finding of the Commissioners on this point. The Commission entirely exonerate the Missionaries of the charge of having taken upon themselves the character of political agitators; they show that these excellent men, circumstanced as they were, would have been inexcusable had they turned a deaf ear to the well-founded complaints of the people in close and kindly intercourse with whom they were living, and some of whom belong to their own flock; and the Commission find that the assertion that the refusal to sow indigo was owing to the preaching of the missionaries is one which is 'entirely without foundation of truth.' \*

PAR. 48.—“I must not pass this last point without respectfully expressing my admiration of the conduct of the missionary body throughout these trying events.

PAR. 52.—“In the paragraph of their Report, noted on the margin,† the Commission speak of the economical importance of the Bengal Indigo trade, and of the great political advantage of having a large body of European gentlemen scattered over the country. Certainly the Commission do not in the least degree overrate the importance of these things, and no one feels their great importance more strongly than I do.

PAR. 63.—“*Planters' complaints.*—There is nothing in the evidence to prove that, before this year, Planters experienced any material difficulty in getting ryots to sow in indigo the quantity of land required of them, for which cash advances were actually taken, whether such requisition was supported by a contract, as the Planter would generally

\* Report, Par. 120.

† General importance of Indigo Trade, Report, Par. 72.

hold, or was the mere command of the Planter, as the ryot would often hold. There are no longer now complaints that ryots take advances for indigo from one Planter and sell the produce to another; nor is it the staple of the complaints made before this year that the ryots took advances for indigo, and cultivated on their own accord something else instead. There are general charges that ryots are of a fraudulent and evasive disposition, but I have seen, in the whole evidence, no specific charge of the above nature, in a single instance, before this year.

PAR. 64.—“There are, however, on the part of the Planters, loud complaints of the carelessness of the ryot, after taking advances, in regard to his indigo crop; of his inattention to it; and of his indifference to whether it is eaten down by cattle, or choked up by weeds, or goes into the Planter's vat, notwithstanding the daily urging of the Planter's servants. I cannot doubt that this is a true complaint.

PAR. 70.—“*Complaints in this year exceptional.*—Complaints relating to the events of this year being quite exceptional, and having been exceptionally met by temporary legislation, need not be now regarded. The ryots in certain districts, after the season of advances had passed, and after the mass had taken advances, showed a disposition to refuse in mass to cultivate. But now their refusal to contract new engagements, or to take advances on the old terms, or on any terms now offered, cannot be made, in form, matter of reasonable complaint by any one; although, doubtless, it is this legitimate refusal on the ryot's part that constitutes the present difficulty of the Planter. It is quite natural that those who are under the pressure of this difficulty should decry any course which will not get them over it. But as the ryot is not a slave, and cannot be

made a slave, and as his right in his own land is indefeasible, however much every one must sympathise with the Planter suddenly involved in this difficulty, every disinterested person must see that the ryot must be left in practice, as he is left now by law, free to do what he thinks best with his own land.

PAR. 71.—“*Special legislation not required to meet those evils.*—Now, looking at all these complaints, I do not see one that requires special legislation, in favour of one side or of the other. The law is now perfectly equal and fair for both; and that is what it ought to be. I see nothing wrong that would not be remedied by adequate executive action, whereby the protection of the law should, in matter of fact, be properly and equitably extended to both parties, which practically, until now, it has not been. It is not the law, neither is it the administration of the law, that is responsible for the complaint of the Planters above-mentioned. When a man is hopelessly in debt to a factory, when such a price is given for the produce of his land as does not at the most pay him more than the rent of it, and often not so much, and when, generally speaking, the whole of the trifle of cash he ever touches at all is given him in the form of an advance, with what degree of reason can it be expected that he will bestow his labour upon that produce with the same interest as he bestows it upon the real profit and loss which is his own?

PAR. 72.—“If this subject of complaint can be removed at all, it can only be removed by the adoption by the Planter of a sound system of traffic for the plant; that is to say, by paying for it a price which will afford the ryot as good a return as another crop would afford him, and by not paying the whole of that price in the way of advance.

This would engage the ryot, by his own self-interest, to bestow as much care upon the crop as he now bestows on his rice and other crops, the profit of which is his. If, at the present price of the dye, the manufacturer cannot afford to give such a price for the plant, there is really nothing for it but to abandon the attempt to force indigo upon the land of the quality in question. To continue the attempt in that case is to waste the resources of the country and to fight against nature; a battle, the issue of which, notwithstanding any number of special and one-sided laws, in the end is never doubtful.

PAR. 73.—“I perceive that the British Indian Association have come to the conclusion from the evidence taken by the Commission that Indigo cannot be profitably cultivated in the neighbouring districts, because it is shown that the value of the manufactured dye, made from the average produce of a beegah, does not exceed 10 rupees, while the value of the raw produce in other crops would be about as much. This is a practical question. Early rice is the crop with which Indigo can be most favourably compared. The average value of a beegah of early rice in Nuddea is stated to be 8 rupees 10 annas. In Jessore the average is taken much higher, but having reference to the oral evidence on the same subject, I take the average above given for Nuddea, to be a fair average at present prices. I believe the mere manufacturing charges for 2 seers or 10 rupees' worth of indigo are taken at 1 rupee 8 annas, so that this calculation would leave less than nothing for all the general charges of the factory. But I do not think it follows that the present average produce, which is less than ten bundles of indigo, would not be materially increased if the crop were grown by a cultivator who had some real interest in

the out-turn. This question, however, if it is to be solved, must be left to nature and to the skill of the person interested. Laws can do nothing in such a matter but leave the trade free.

“Two members of the Commission, in a separate Minute, recommend the enactment of the law rendering breach of an indigo contract on the part of a ryot a criminal act punishable by the Magistrate. The majority of the Commission strongly object to any such law, and I fully concur in their objections for the reasons they assign. No one-sided legislation is ever justifiable, and I believe such legislation in the end generally injures the interests it is meant to favour. An indigo contract differs in no respect from any other sort of contract for the delivery of goods. To subject either one of the two parties in such a contract to be treated as a criminal for what is acknowledged by the general law not to be a crime, seems to me quite indefensible. All the arguments above urged against any special legislation for indigo business at all apply with peculiar force against special penal legislation, in a sense contrary to all received principles of distinction between Civil and Criminal law.

PAR. 85.—“In 1810, in 1832, and in 1835, in India and at Home, the highest authorities have concurred in rejecting such a law. Indeed a proposition for such a law seems to me to follow strangely upon the result of the Commission's enquiry. The whole Bengal Indigo system has been upon its trial; and though only four out of the five Commissioners signed the Report, I do not understand that the fifth Commissioner who represented the Planters, differs from his colleagues substantially in regard to the findings on matters of fact; and he has signed, with

another member, a separate paper, which, in my judgment is as conclusive against the system as the body of the Report itself is. The result is that the ryot is found guilty of nothing ; and that his complaints are, in the main, fully established. It would be natural upon such a finding, to discuss some projects of special law protection in his favour ; but to follow up a verdict in favour of a successful complainant by a sentence of subjection to a penal law, making him criminally liable to what no other person is criminally liable, does seem to me to be somewhat hard upon him.

PAR. 86.—“ I agree with the majority in thinking that in the interest of the Planter, such one-sided legislation would be unwise. The Planter's present difficulty is to get ryots to agree to cultivate indigo, and he must succeed in that before he talks of punishing them for not cultivating. If the object were to make indigo cultivation still more unpopular than it is, to stigmatise it by making those who undertake it liable to be treated as criminals, might be a wise measure ; but as the object is the contrary, I cannot think it would be a wise measure.

“ The same two Members recommend the appointment of one or more special officers in each of the principal Indigo districts, to exercise civil and criminal judicial powers and fiscal powers, in indigo matters exclusively, subordinate to the regular Civil, Criminal, and Fiscal officers of the district. I do not see how such a scheme is practicable ; and if practicable, it would be a very great change for the worse. There are no fiscal duties connected with indigo, and in many criminal cases it will be doubtful, and in others it will not be ascertainable till the case is concluded, whether indigo was or was not at the bottom

of it. Then I do not see how one man can have the management of the police at any one place, in matters connected with indigo, and another man have the management of the same police, at the same place, in other matters. When there is a breach of the peace, the first thing to do is to put an end to the disturbance; but on this system, it would have to be ascertained what the first cause of the disturbance was, before it could be known which of the two men should take the affair in hand. Again, the inconveniences to the public would be extreme. There are now eight Moonsiffs (native Civil Judges) in the Nuddea district, and five magisterial courts; and in Jessore there are now ten Moonsiffs, and six magisterial courts. In all indigo cases, this scheme would substitute for those thirteen or sixteen authorities, scattered equally over the district, one or two authorities in each district who would be 50 miles away from the majority of suitors. The harassment to suitors and witnesses would be intolerable. And to set against so much that is disadvantageous, I can see absolutely nothing in the shape of an advantage; for the one or two Special Indigo officers would in no way be better than one or two of the regular District Officers. Moreover, all Special Courts for particular classes of cases, from English Star-Chambers to Indian Resumption Courts, become always hateful, and generally deservedly so.

PAR. 88.—“Surely the object is, with a limited number of officers available in a district of nearly a million of inhabitants, to make the most of them by spreading them equally over the whole surface. The supporters of the scheme most justly say, that ‘The necessity of a reference on the spot is one of the few points on which both parties agree.’ But this is the very reason why I object to passing over the Sub-



divisional officer and Moonsiff on the spot, or at most, 12½ miles off, in order to go to a special officer 50 miles off. If I am to be allowed one, two, or more additional officers in a district, I hope that they may be so used, by multiplying Sub-divisions, as to bring justice and protection nearer home to the people; and not so used, by neutralising even existing Sub-divisions, as to send justice and protection, in one of the most important classes of cases, very much further away from home than they now are.

PAR. 89.—“The same two Commissioners also recommend the appointment of a Special Indigo Commissioner to travel about, to allay excitement, and to mediate between Planter and ryot. I am quite of opinion that good is to be done in this way; but I do not think that any officer is in so good a position to do what good can be done, as the regular Commissioners of Divisions, who must know more about the affairs of their Divisions than any new officer could know for a long time. The attention of the Divisional Commissioners being given to the people of their divisions, in all their relations with business of every sort, and not being narrowed to one peculiar relation, seems to me an advantage. They are all picked men, of the class from which any Special Commissioner would be taken. After all, any extra official action, as I may call it, must stop at a certain point. No Government officer could take it upon himself to dictate to a Planter the price which he can afford to offer for plant; or to dictate to a ryot the price at which it will be for his pecuniary interest to grow the plant. The two parties interested must be left to settle that themselves. All that a disinterested person, official or unofficial, could do, is to

allay irritation, and to endeavour to make both act reasonably, temperately, and fairly. The Commissioner of the Division, who has all the District Executive Officers under him, and who has not judicial functions, civil or criminal, seems to me the official person most likely to meet with success in this work of mediation. I have already issued such instructions to the Divisional Commissioners as will have the required effect, as far as these officers are capable of producing it. The Commissioners of Nuddea and Rajshahye are now on tour, with this special object, amongst others, in view. Nothing, however, can be done unless the Planter will recognise the legal and actual position of the ryot, and unless, even where the law is on his side, he will act upon the advice of the Planter's most able and judicious representative in the Commission, by making such reasonable and equitable concessions as will avoid a contest 'that will seriously damage the interests of the Planters.' It should be seen that to attempt to conduct commercial transactions properly in the midst of a hostile and intensely exasperated population is mere foolishness when the law is also against one, and is a very hopeless adventure even when it is on one's side. I trust, therefore, that the Committee of the Indigo Planters' Association will support this good advice with all their influence.

"The majority of the Commission are opposed to both the recommendations last discussed, and I agree with their arguments.

"The separate Minute, signed by Mr Temple and Mr Fergusson, treats of some points not noticed in the Report. These two gentlemen remark that District Magistrates have ample power to investigate and prosecute British subjects in the Mofussil, and that they ought to exercise that

power. This is true, though the trial [except in cases of simple assault punishable by a fine of 500 rupees under the present law] can only be at the Presidency. In grave cases I trust that this duty is never neglected. But the expense, both to public and to private persons, of prosecution at the Presidency, for an offence committed at a distance, is very heavy; and the inconvenience and loss to prosecutors are so great that such prosecutions are a misfortune to the neighbourhood in which the person injured is the most certain to suffer. It is not in the nature of things that these considerations should not operate to a certain extent, as an exemption from amenability to all criminal law in minor matters. These two same members recommend the general disarming of all natives in Bengal, but without taking away clubs. The long, heavy, iron-bound club in use is a formidable lethal weapon; and a disarming in Bengal, which should not touch the most common lethal weapon used in their frays, would be operative, I fear, only for harm. It would disarm the peaceable man, and allow the professional bravo of the country to carry his own peculiar arms. I would rather reverse the operation. I do not see any evidence, anything to show that the mass of the people in Bengal, a quiet and well-behaved race, should be disarmed. I should like to see them much more ready and more stout in self-defence than they are. But I would disarm and punish the higher club men, and I would punish all who employ them, without exception of classes. I trust that a provision in the Penal Code, introduced by a Bengal member in the Legislative Council, in consequence of a suggestion from me, will have the effect of enabling the Magistrate to cut off the root of affrays by imposing some

responsibility on those in whose interest they are committed, as recommended by those two Members of the Commission.

PAR. 93.—“The body of the Report is signed by four members, the fifth, Mr Fergusson, the able representative of the planting interest in the Commission, has not signed it, and has put in a separate Minute, explaining his reasons. I understand that his dissent in the main is to the tone of the Report, which, in his opinion, leads to the inference that Planters as a body are lawless. The inference I myself draw from the Report is that the Planters, as a body and naturally, are like any other class of our fellow countrymen; but that, being within the meshes of a false system, they cannot but act as the system constrains them. Like all such bodies, they comprise men of all temperaments, but it is, and has ever been, my conviction that there are in this body many as good men as there are in India, and I see nothing in the Report to the contrary. Mr Fergusson objects to certain views in the Report, as tending to disturb the acknowledged principles of the Permanent Settlement, and to give ryots notions of their rights incompatible with that contract between the Government and the Zamindar. I conceive that there is here some of that misapprehension of the nature of the Permanent Settlement which is very common. That measure in no respect differs from any other Indian Revenue Settlement, except in being permanent instead of for a term of years. It is only a Settlement of the Government demand of revenue; it in no way touches any rights, interests, or tenure of land, all of which it leaves as it found them. It is truly described as a contract between Government and the Zamindar; and therefore necessarily it could not affect

third parties, whose rights, titles, and interests, indeed, it acknowledges specially, and excepts in terms. Mr Fergusson freely admits that the recent crisis must sooner or later have occurred, because Planters did not raise their prices as other prices rose. He comes thus, I think, in effect to the same practical conclusion that the majority of the Commission and myself come to, namely, that the root of the whole question is the struggle to make ryots grow indigo plant without paying the price for it.

PAR 94.—“My high opinion of the manner in which the Commission have conducted their enquiry, and reported to Government their conclusions upon this extensive and long controverted subject, has been expressed to the gentlemen who composed it in a separate letter. At a moment of passionate excitement, the careful impartiality with which they conducted their enquiry was admitted on all sides. And though every one will form his own judgment as to their conclusions and recommendations, the cautious, temperate, and kindly manner in which they framed their Report will, I am sure, be cordially acknowledged by every one.”

*17th December 1860.*

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## VERNACULAR SCHOOLS

WHILE the education of native gentlemen in the higher branches of English literature, and the maintenance of collegiate institutions for the classical languages of India, Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian,

had received full and adequate support, vernacular education and village schools for the children of agriculturists had not always met with the same degree of attention. It is true that, in 1838, Mr Adam made no less than three full and exhaustive reports on the Indigenous Schools in the Lower Provinces, containing a vast mass of valuable and trustworthy information on the character of those primitive institutions, the capacity and knowledge of the *gurus*, or teachers, the subjects taught, and the mode of instruction; and from time to time, from the above date down to the year 1859, praiseworthy attempts had been made by the Bengal Government to establish vernacular schools of a higher type, which should serve as models and should bring vernacular education within the reach of some portion of the rustic community. It is unnecessary to specify the nature of these early reforms, or to explain why they only met with a partial success. In Lord Hardinge's time, a hundred and one of these schools were established in Lower Bengal, at the rate of about three to a large district, placed under the Collector, and duly visited by Inspectors. Gradually, from one cause or another, school after school was closed. Similar schools placed under the Council of Education did not much advance

matters, but the Government never lost sight of the subject, and about the years 1853 to 1859, those mainly interested in the education policy began, in the words of a very accomplished Oriental scholar, the late Colonel Nassau Lees, to feel that while we had neglected those classes which are "the muscles and sinews of a nation," we had lavished public money in giving, almost gratuitously, a high education in "English literature" to dwellers at the Presidency and in large towns, and to candidates for public employment everywhere.

In 1859 Grant took up the whole subject, referred, according to his wont, to previous attempts in the same direction, and invited the opinion of experienced officials, native gentlemen of high-standing, and Missionaries and others, who, all according to their opportunities and abilities, had anxiously considered vernacular education with a view to practical results. These gentlemen, while proposing that the experiment should be tried in more ways than one—over one district, or half-a-dozen districts, or all over Bengal—were, on the whole, agreed that it would not do to disregard the indigenous system, though correctly described by one authority as places "where the teacher had no knowledge and the scholars had no books." So,

out of information supplied by twenty-five gentlemen,\* the Lieutenant-Governor, in October 1860, expressed his view as to the proper remedy, in a letter to the Home Department of the Government of India.

•      *"19th October 1860.*

"The Lieutenant-Governor has referred to Lord Stanley's despatch on the subject of education generally, which was received after the first of your letters under acknowledgment had been forwarded, and in which various important points connected with education are discussed, but the present communication will be confined to an exposition of his views regarding vernacular education for the lower classes, and to the question of the funds from which such education must be supplied. The Lieutenant-Governor, in pursuance of the instructions contained in your letter of the 17th of May 1859, has consulted on this important subject not only the officials of the Educational Department, but several other gentlemen, Europeans and natives, who have either had practical experience in dealing with village schools, or have always shown an interest in the elevation and well-being of the ryots. The information

\* W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq., Dr F. J. Mouat, G. Smith, Esq., N. P. Pogose, Esq., R. Morne, Esq., Rev. W. Kay, Rev. J. Long, Rev. T. Sandys, Rev. J. Ogilvie, Rev. B. Geidt, Rev. K. M. Banerji, Raja Radha Kant Deb Bahadur, Prasanno Nath Rai Bahadur, Satya Charan Ghosal, Satis Chandra Rai, Rai Prasanno Narayan Deb, Babu Ishwar Chandra Sharma, Babu Ramanath Thakur, Babu Prasanno Kumar Ghose, Babu Piyari Chand Mittra, Sama Charan Sirkar, Debendranath Thakur, Ishwar Chandra Ghosal, Sib Chandra Deb, Munshi Amir Ali.



given by the above gentlemen, whose names are entered in the margin, is herewith forwarded, and aided by their opinions, as well as by a consideration of the means hitherto employed for this object, the Lieutenant-Governor is now enabled to explain the plan which he recommends for the attainment of the object in view.

PAR. 3.—“The Lieutenant-Governor clearly understands the intention of the Government of India and of the Home Government to be, that Grants-in-aid are not to be supplied to the extension or support of purely indigenous or vernacular schools, but are to be reserved for English schools, for Anglo-vernacular schools, and for vernacular schools of a comparatively high order. The present object, then, is to devise some scheme for the instruction of the lower agricultural classes which may be tried at once experimentally, but shall be capable of easy extension; and be not ill adapted to any existing system; suitable to the wants of the people; not calculated to offend their prejudices; and, above all, which shall not be attended with inordinate expense—not only at first, but when developed to its fullest extent.

PAR. 4.—“Bearing this in mind, the Lieutenant-Governor has come to the conclusion that our best chance of success lies in basing a new scheme on the indigenous schools already existing throughout the districts of Bengal, and indeed to be found, more or less, in every part of India. He has fully considered everything that can be said, and that has been said, to the disparagement of these primitive institutions. The poor appearance of the sheds used as school-houses, the ignorance, obstinacy, and prejudice of the *gurus* who preside over them, the almost total want of school books, the very humble character of the instruction

generally imparted, and the poverty of the scholars, have not been overlooked. But if we are to convey instruction of any kind to the lower orders, we must not, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, affect to disregard the kind of instruction that the people have hitherto sought and approved. All attempts made to reach the mere agriculturists, however praiseworthy, and by whatever amount of talent and energy supported, must fail wherever they are not in unison with the habits and feelings of the people. The kind of instruction which the people naturally desire must not be forgotten. The aid of the village schoolmasters must be invoked. The possibility of elevating and improving both the schools and the race of schoolmasters should not be hastily disregarded. Any scheme involving the abolition of all existing village schools, and the deprivation of all the schoolmasters, must create for itself obstacles that may be insurmountable.

PAR. 5.—“The ground-work of the plan which the Lieutenant-Governor contemplates must therefore be the present indigenous schools. That they exist in numbers, in Lower Bengal especially, is unquestionable. Mr Long estimates that in Bengal alone there are thirty thousand village *gurus*, and indeed all persons who have been consulted at any time when the question of vernacular education has been under consideration, from Mr Adam downwards, however they might differ as to the possibility of improvements, have had no doubt as to their existence or as to their number. The Lieutenant-Governor, approving only of a scheme which shall openly recognise the existence and utility of these institutions, would set about this recognition in the following manner.

PAR. 6.—“Lists of every village school in each Zillah

that may be included in the scene of operations, should be prepared by the Education Department in communication with the District Officers. The Inspector, aided by Deputy Inspectors, should then proceed to make his selection of those schools which he may think most important and most capable of improvement.' In doing this he would naturally be guided partly by personal and partly by local consideration. In this selection much will depend on the judgment and tact of the inspecting officer.

PAR. 7.—“When the requisite number of schools shall have been selected, the Inspector must endeavour to induce the *gurus* or the proprietors and supporters of the school, who are often Talukdars and middlemen, to submit to periodical inspection. To this end the Lieutenant-Governor would not propose that any pledge should be demanded from either schoolmasters or proprietors as to the repairs of the school-house or the number of scholars, or that any weekly or monthly returns or statements of any kind should be forwarded to the Inspectors. This officer, before admitting the school on his list, must take care to satisfy himself that there is a school-house in existence, and that it has a fair daily attendance of scholars; also that the master is willing to receive the support of the Government. The erection and repairs of the school-house being left to the inhabitants, the teacher would be chiefly remunerated, as he is now, by the fees of the scholar. In this way, the cost of the institution of the school, and the greater part of the expense of its maintenance, being still defrayed by the people of the neighbourhood, the scheme, even when fully developed, need not be impracticable from its costliness. But in order to enlist the sympathies of the teacher, and to overcome his

prejudices as well as to raise the character of the institution, the following means are suggested. Books should be supplied to the school at a very low price; these books should contain, in a compact form, all that has hitherto been taught at such places by dictation; namely, arithmetic, agricultural and commercial accounts, forms of agreement, quittances of rent, bonds, etc., and even models of complimentary or formal letters which inferiors constantly address to their superiors. The Lieutenant-Governor does not feel warranted in despising this last kind of instruction, because it is not conveyed to the son of an English peasant. It is sufficient, for our purposes, that such instruction has been imparted in India for generations. The above course will enable any lad of ordinary intelligence to read and write correctly, and to see that he is not cheated in his accounts by the Mahajan or the agent of the Zamindar. A book of this kind has been in use in some schools near Calcutta, and, as being in every way suited for the purpose, should be largely supplied to other similar schools.

PAR. 8.—“On this rude and primitive foundation the Lieutenant-Governor would build a structure of a better kind, taking great care, however, that the higher and better instruction offered should not be too much in advance of the requirements of the people. He would rigidly exclude all attempts at English instruction, or at imparting to Bengal village boys information which can, in their case, serve no purpose but to puzzle their heads with strange names and foreign ideas. He would restrict the improved course to the measurement of land; to some short Bengali grammar of the simplest kind; to the first elements of geography and of Indian history. If the sons of ryots, in addition to the present course of village instruction, can

be induced to read books of instruction and amusement (which must be for the most part written for the purpose); to write with neatness on paper; to measure their own lands correctly; and to know a little about the histories of other countries and the history and condition of their own, with the prospect of a better education for their sons, a great step will have been made.

PAR. 9.—“When this selection of certain schools has been made, and when it has been formally announced that the course of instruction shall not be hastily changed, and shall be supplied with the mechanical aids of which it has hitherto been destitute, it will still be necessary to secure the co-operation of the *guru*. But for this end the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that any compulsory examination, which some gentlemen have recommended should be forced on such persons, would defeat the object which we have in view. It is useless to expect that the ordinary race of village teachers would submit to any ordeal of the kind. All that can be done is by conference, by judicious advice, and by holding out hopes of reward, to stimulate the best men of the class to greater exertion, and to lead them to adopt an improved course of study. This, it must be conceded, is the one difficulty of the scheme. But it does not seem an insurmountable difficulty. When a certain number of *gurus* shall be induced to adopt the improved system, the feeling of the people will be so much in favour of it, as to force it upon the remainder, or to drive them out of employment.

PAR. 10.—“It is here, of course, that the substantial aid of Government must come in, and there can be no inducement so powerful as a payment of a reward in cash. The Lieutenant-Governor would take care that these rewards

should be quite distinct from any system of Grants-in-aid. They would be distributed within a fixed limit by the Inspector, on his being satisfied that the school had been well attended by scholars who had passed a fair examination in the subjects to which it is proposed in this letter to limit the education of the *ryot*. In this way the Minute returns, the lengthy statements, and the constant supervision necessary in the system of Grants-in-aid, and noticed as prejudicial by Dr Mouat in his letter of the 20th of August 1859, would be quite unnecessary ; while, on the other hand, care must be taken that rewards are not given for mere musters of boys collected together to make a good show. Visits should take place only as often as is necessary for a fair knowledge of what is going on. We know that when the inhabitants want a school they will maintain one ; if the son of an agriculturist wishes to learn anything at all he will attend such a school, and if the *guru* is capable of teaching anything at all, he will find scholars. It is to the improvement of such schools, when brought into existence by the voluntary act of the inhabitants, that the State must look. The reward given to the *guru* need in no case exceed half the fees which he receives from the scholars, or, say, a sum of 30 rupees or 36 rupees, a year, and often it need not amount to so much. Taking the average of a teacher's earnings at 5 rupees a month, a sum spent in rewards to each schoolmaster would not on an average exceed 30 rupees a year, and the Lieutenant-Governor believes that the prospect of such a sum would stimulate all but the most apathetic and bigoted teachers. If any *guru* proves impervious to advice, encouragement, or the hope of reward, or having promised largely, fails to fulfil his promises, he will at once be

struck off the Government lists ; but if, by advice, conciliatory treatment, books, and substantial reward, even a dozen schools were led to adopt a better kind of instruction in any one Zillah, the latent energies of neighbouring schoolmasters would in time be excited, and if a scheme so based should once gain a secure footing, there might eventually, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, be no limit to the extension of vernacular education except the wants of the people.

PAR. II.—“The Lieutenant-Governor has no objection to see a few vernacular schools established by Government, to serve as models to the indigenous schools. He thinks that about half a dozen of these should be established in each district on a scale to be explained hereafter ; but he would avoid the error of establishing them at the Sudder Stations, or even necessarily at the Stations of Sub-divisions. These places have been sometimes selected under the idea that supervision should there be most exercised. This is true, but the tendency of the native servants of Government, whose sons mostly frequent schools at such places, is to wish for English education, and vernacular schools so situated might not attract the class of scholars for whose benefit the present scheme is intended. The places selected for the model schools to be established by Government should be, not bazars, but the thickly populated rural villages, inhabited partly by artizans, but mainly by agriculturists. The things taught in the Government institutions should be absolutely identical with those taught in the indigenous institutions. The house will be better built, and the teachers better paid and educated, and books and writing materials will, from the first, take the place of dictation and scribbling on sand.

Of course such schools cannot be established at the cost of 50 rupees a year, which sum, by the plan now under discussion, it is proposed shall be the limit of expense for all purposes in each purely village school. The Government will have to build the school-house and to keep it in repair, and the salary of the head teacher, who might be available for the occasional inspection and examination of other schools, could not be fixed at less than 50 rupees a month; this sum to be paid exclusive of the fees which should be demanded from the scholars at the monthly rate of 1 anna or 2 annas a head. Books must be supplied at a trifling cost, as to the other schools previously in existence.

PAR. 12.—“The arrangements being approved for the supervision of indigenous, and for the establishment of Government schools to serve as models, there remains for consideration the staff by which the schools are to be selected, supervised, and in some degree controlled. For this it would be necessary to have a staff of Deputy-Inspectors, but as repeated visits and constant supervision by sub-Inspectors do not form a part of the present proposal, it would be possible, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks, to have the work performed by a moderate number of such officers. Taking the scale of indigenous schools to be visited at one hundred per Zillah at first, and each school to require visits not more than once a quarter, there would be four hundred visits to be performed annually. To do justice to this number, not less than four Deputy-Inspectors would be required, who would have each twenty-five schools to look after in his own circle. The Deputy-Inspectors might reside near the model schools, and bestow a close attention to their improvements at such times as they were not going the round of the villages. Institutions wholly supported by



Government, obviously demand, and can endure, a more strict superintendence than independent Institutions, presided over by *gurus* self-elected, or chosen and paid by the Talukdars and ryots; and one main object of the plan which the Lieutenant is now proposing is, that the retention of the indigenous schools on the Government list should depend not on minute control, but on the results shown at each examination.

PAR. 13.—“The expense of this scheme would be as follows:—The Lieutenant-Governor would take the number of one hundred schools, with six model schools and their necessary staffs, as one suitable for an experiment, and capable of being enlarged by doubling, or trebling, or quadrupling the scale of the whole expenditure; thus, one hundred indigenous schools in each district, costing 50 rupees a year in all, would amount to 5000 rupees a year. The model schools could not be supported at a less cost than 30 rupees a month, including the salary of the head teacher fixed at 20 rupees, or 360 rupees a year. The salaries of the Deputy-Inspectors must be liberal to secure the services of men of independence, honesty, and energy; and the Lieutenant-Governor does not think that qualified persons could be secured at less than 100 rupees a month, including travelling allowances. Thus the whole expense for one district would be as follows:—

	MONTH	YEAR
100 Indigenous Schools . . . . .	.	5,000
6 Model Schools, each at 30 rupees a month . . . . .	180	2,160
4 Sub-Inspectors, each at 100 rupees a month . . . . .	400	4,800
		<hr/> 11,960
TOTAL in round numbers, rupees		<hr/> 12,300

PAR. 14.—“It is by no means the intention of the Lieutenant-Governor to recommend that the support of the State should be limited to one hundred schools in a district with half a dozen model schools and the corresponding staff of inspecting officers. The above is taken as a fair proportion to start with, on a reasonable scale of expenditure, worthy of being tested; and should the plan succeed, it would be a mere question of money whether the numbers as before stated should not be doubled, trebled, quadrupled, or still more largely multiplied. If the time should ever arrive when we could show \* one thousand village schools to a district, aided by Government and affording the agriculturists a simple and practical education commensurate with their wants, the State, in such a case, might be said to have fairly done its duty by the neglected portion of its subjects.

PAR. 15.—“The above plan has already been tried in some of the districts of Bengal to a very limited extent, and is now under trial in Assam.

PAR. 16.—“Another plan of dealing with indigenous schools has been tried by Mr Woodrow, the Inspector for East Bengal. Its basis of operations is partly the same as that of the plan above recommended. The village schools, with their primitive instruction, are taken as they are found. The difference is in the treatment of the schools and of the masters.

PAR. 17.—“Mr Woodrow selects three village schools within a circle of 2 or 3 miles of each other. To these three schools one pundit is attached by Government, who receives a salary of 15 rupees a month, and who visits

\* The number of villages in a large district is about five thousand; this would give one school to every five villages.

each of the three schools once a week, spending two days at each school. It is the business of the pundit to prevail on the village *guru* to adopt an improved course of instruction, and to show him practically the details of this course. For this end money is freely spent in rewards to such *gurus* as consent to enter on the new system, and these rewards are of course, exclusive of the salaries of the pundits. It often happens that of the three schools one assumes a marked superiority over the other two, and when this result takes place, and the inhabitants exhibit an anxiety for a permanent teacher to supplant the *guru*, the pundit is then appointed to be their teacher, on a salary, not of 15 rupees, but of 10, the difference being made up to him by the fees of the scholars; and the school thus becomes in every respect a vernacular school wholly maintained by Government. This experiment, as tried by Mr Woodrow, already embraces in round numbers two hundred schools, in an aggregate of three or four districts. The cost of each of the three schools, to which the pundit's salary is chargeable, has been *hitherto* 6 rupees, *i.e.* 5 rupees salary, and 1 rupee for reward, and the cost of any one school, when fairly converted into a Government school, could not be taken at less than 15 rupees, *i.e.* 10 rupees salary and 5 rupees incidental expenses.

PAR. 18.—“The expense of this plan, when fully developed, seems to the Lieutenant-Governor to be excessive, for the cost of each school when perfect would be 180 rupees a year. A district of ordinary size contains about 5000 villages, and one school to five villages is a fair allowance. The ultimate expense, then, in such a district, would be 180,000 rupees a year; besides the cost of model

schools and Inspectors. By the plan recommended, the amount for the village schools *only* would not exceed 50,000 rupees.

PAR. 19.—“It is not the intention of the Lieutenant-Governor to recommend normal schools for teachers as part of this scheme, because he thinks that no normal school other than a provincial one for each district would ever supply, to the fullest extent, requisite teachers for the lowest class of schools. It would be unreasonable to expect any teacher brought up in a normal school at Calcutta or Hooghly to proceed to teach scholars in the Province of Cuttack, or the division of Dacca, on such a moderate salary as must be assigned to teachers of schools in those localities. The teachers for each district must be furnished in and by the district; and in this view the Lieutenant thinks it unnecessary to make a district normal school for teachers in village schools a part of his scheme. For the purely vernacular schools contemplated by this project, we ought to look to the model vernacular schools proposed to be established. If the support extended to the native village schools should result in success, that success will immediately raise the character of the schools and of the indigenous teachers, and will call for fresh teachers as a natural consequence, and thus we shall obtain our object.

PAR. 20.—“The experiment may be tried at any time in some of the populous districts of Lower Bengal when the money is available. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks it would be wise to commence, not with the most civilised parts of the 24-Pergunnahs, Baraset, or Hooghly, where the cry of the inhabitants is for an English education as tending to employment and preferment, or, at any rate, not with the portion of those districts in the vicinity of

Calcutta, but rather with more distant Zillahs, almost equal in population, but not so constantly brought into contact with the advantages of civilisation.

PAR. 21.—“Considering the new schemes of taxation now being everywhere introduced, the Lieutenant-Governor is opposed to any attempt to impose any special cess for any educational purpose. By the present scheme, the people pay the chief cost of vernacular schools. The aid to be given by Government may fairly come from the general revenue.

PAR. 22.—“The main features of the scheme now recommended seem to have the merits of simplicity, cheapness, and facility for indefinite extension. Several of them are recommended by the united judgment of experienced gentlemen of different professions, European and native. There are difficulties in all plans, but whatever difficulties there are in this plan, it is believed that they are not more than can be surmounted by the known tact, ability, and earnestness of those to whose hands its execution would be entrusted.” \*

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## SUNDAY TRAVELLING

THE arguments for and against Sunday trains seem as applicable to other countries and towns besides India. They were recorded on the occasion of a petition presented against the practice.

\* The establishment of these necessary and primitive schools was at first somewhat hampered by want of funds and other causes. But it was taken up and extended by the able men who succeeded Grant in the Government of Bengal, and his plan has formed the basis of most improvements in the same line.

## MINUTE.

“ My own opinion is as follows :—

“ I think that in the estimation of the many estimable persons who have signed this petition, and the excellence of their motives, the recommendation made is deserving of the most respectful attention of Government. But, after giving the question such attention, I am convinced that it would be very wrong to issue to the railway officers the prohibition which the petitioners ask for.

“ In the first place, I am of opinion that the Government has no right to interfere with the Railway Company in their arrangements for working the line, where such interference is not justified by the peculiar relation in which the Government and the Railway Company stand towards each other. In the case of an independent Transport Company, no one would pretend that the Government could prohibit it from working on Sundays. The usual River Steam Companies, for example, keep their steamers running on Sundays, and no one has ever even thought of petitioning Government to interfere with their so doing; nor has Government the power to interfere. The same is true of the several Road Transit Companies, and of all the companies and the innumerable individuals who are concerned in the transport of goods and passengers in the country. In what, then, does the case of the railway differ from that of any other Transit Company? There are two objects for which the powers of Government over the Railway Company have been made by agreement, so large as they are: one, the security of the State, which has guaranteed the capital expended, and which, therefore, for its own pecuniary interest, must see that no railway money

is wasted, and that the railway business, in general, is well conducted; the other, the interest of commerce, and the safety and convenience of the people, especially of the poorer classes forming the mass of the people, which, probably, all Governments ought to watch; whereas, in the case of a railway, a monopoly of the high road is virtually conceded to a particular Company. In this view, the great special advantages granted by the State to Indian Railway Companies warrant it, as a special case, in watching with peculiar jealousy. But it is manifest that neither of these objects is in the least degree injuriously affected by the practice of which the petitioners disapprove.

"There is, therefore, no ground, general or special, to justify the proposed interference.

"Possibly, there may have been occasionally, heretofore, some slight tendency to more detailed interference with the railway officers in the working of the railway than can be strictly justified on these principles. But such interference has never been intentionally exercised, in Bengal, to the injury of the pecuniary interests of the Railway Company; and before the question arose, the attention of the President in Council had been given to the question of interference in working details, and he had resolved in future to act in strict accordance with the principles mentioned. In the Madras Presidency the practice of unwarranted interference in working details was at one time carried to a greater extent; but the Honourable Court, on several occasions lately, have decisively disapproved of it, and it must be assumed that the sounder principles, in accordance with the practice now in force here, and the injunction of the Honourable Court, are there also now in operation.

“The question of Sunday trains at Madras is one in which the Honourable Court have expressed an opinion in consonance with the view above taken. Copies of all the papers connected with that question should be sent to his Lordship, from which he will see that the Government of India has acted in this matter in entire accordance with the principle of the avoidance of unwarranted interference in the details of the working of the trains.

“In the second place, although it were granted that the Government are justified in this interference with the railway officers in the matter of the running of Sunday trains, I do not think it would be right to exercise its power in this matter.

“The Government, whatever may be the particular views of its members, as individuals, on such propositions as that on which the argument of the petitioners is wholly founded, would not be justified in acting, as a Government, on such views, unless where such views are universally assented to, or at least are supported by the law and practice of England. There are obvious arguments in justification of the non-enforcement in a country where the Christian inhabitants are to the rest of the people but as one to thousands, of restriction approved upon religious grounds in England; but there is not one argument to be found that can justify a Government professing toleration, in imposing, upon religious grounds, restrictions upon millions of Hindus and Muhammadans, which are not imposed on its own Christian subjects in England. In England, there is no prohibition of Sunday trains, though no inconsiderable portion of the people there hold the same views with the petitioners in regard to the disputed question of Sunday travelling; and though with the people



there, universally, Sunday is a day specially and reverentially regarded. Yet the English Government of India is asked to prohibit Sunday trains here, where not one traveller in several hundred belongs to a class which holds Sunday in any special reverence whatever.

"As to Lord Hardinge's order, that certainly does not bear on this case. There is a manifest distinction between a rule relating to the construction of works by Government, and one relating to the use of them by the people, when constructed. It might be right to rest on Sundays from blasting rocks in a navigable channel; and yet wrong afterwards to prohibit native boats from passing on Sundays through the channel, when opened. Besides, the effect of the cessation of ordinary work on any day ceases with the day, but the effect of the stoppage of inter-communication on any day deranges the work of a whole week.

"It is always to be remembered that a Railway practically, to a very great extent, supersedes the other and older means of transport in its line of country. Wholly to stop travelling by rail on any day is therefore nearly equivalent to stopping wholly all travelling on an old high road on that day. I cannot think that if Jews happened to be the rulers of millions of other races, it would be right in them to stop all travelling by persons, not Jews, on Saturdays. And on the same grounds, I cannot think that we, Christian rulers as we are, should do right in acting in the same spirit; especially, I cannot think that we should do honour to our religion by imposing in India, on millions who are not Christians, restrictions which, as a people generally, we hold not to be binding on ourselves at Home."

## TWO MINUTES OF 13th AUGUST 1858.

THE Sepoy Mutiny, had naturally modified the views of statesmen and administrators on divers fundamental questions. What line should be taken by first-class railways in Upper India; what strategic points should be strengthened; whether forts should be constructed so as to command the passage of rivers; what site should be chosen for the Headquarters of the Government of the North-West Provinces; how the Imperial City of Delhi should be treated after its recapture—all these points were fully considered by the Government of India in its Civil and Military departments. Grant, in almost every point, supported the Viceroy, Lord Canning.

It was decided that the East Indian Railway should not cross the Jumna at Agra as originally proposed, following the right bank of the Jumna to Delhi, but should continue a course through the Doab, so as to place the line under cover of the Jumna the whole way to Delhi, the river being crossed at Delhi instead of at Agra. An interesting discussion also took place regarding the fort of Allahabad and its command

of the bridge across the Jumna. The question as to the future treatment of Delhi, whether as a political rallying point or as a commercial capital, is remarkable, and he would be a daring prophet who would affirm, confidently, that other contingencies contemplated by experts at that period, would never occur again.

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### RAILWAY BRIDGE AT ALLAHABAD.

PAR. 1.—“The Government of India has recently had before it the project of the Chief Engineer, North-Western Provinces, of the East Indian Railway Company, for the passage of the railway over the river Jumna by a girder bridge. The estimated cost of this work is 5.663.240 rupees. The Government determined to permit the project to be submitted to the London Board of Directors for their approval, and it is now under the consideration of that Board and of the Honourable Court.

PAR. 2.—“But it was pointed out at the time by Major Strachey, the Officiating Secretary in this Department, that the question of the position of this bridge was very important in a military point of view; and our attention was called to a report that he had submitted not long ago to the Right Hon. the Governor-General on the general subject of the Station of Allahabad, in which this matter was specially alluded to. The Government considered that the general designs of the girders would not be likely to be

affected by a mere change of site in the bridge; and consequently decided not to delay the despatch of the plans of the Railway Company's engineer till this point should be settled.

PAR. 3.—“The railway bridge, as now projected, is designed to cross the Jumna about 2000 yards above the Fort of Allahabad. Altogether, setting aside military considerations, the site is well selected. The rail passes with little inconvenience and small expense between the town of Allahabad and the suburb of Kydgunj. A viaduct will probably be necessary to connect the bridge with the main railway station at Kuchpoorwa, but it will not be one of very great length.

“In such a matter, however, in my judgment, military consideration on no account should be set aside. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in his memorandum dated from Futtehgurh, 25th April 1858, observes: ‘The passage of the Jumna must be guarded at whatever place the line of communication may intersect it;’ this, Sir Colin Campbell says, having special reference to the passage of the Jumna, near Delhi, the question then before him. But if this precaution is proper in the Upper Doab, how much more necessary will it be to consider the question when we are dealing with the principal passage of the river at Allahabad?

PAR. 5.—“Having recorded my opinions on the importance of Allahabad at some length in my Minute of to-day's date, on the change of line of the railway in the North-West Provinces, it is not necessary that I should do more here than recall the chief claims of this Station to attention with reference to the present question. These are that it is destined to be the Civil Capital of the North-

Western Provinces ; that its admirable position as a great centre of military power cannot be doubted ; that it will form the Gangetic terminus of the great line of railway from Bombay through Jubbulpore.

PAR. 6.—“ I do not propose at present to do more than to direct attention to what I consider a most important consideration, before overlooked, in the determination of the exact position of this bridge, my object being that this question, which will call for careful examination, should be dealt with in its military bearing by those whose professional knowledge qualifies them for the task. The paragraphs of Major Strachey's Report that refer to this question, give a general view of the principal points to be considered. For convenience of reference I shall here transcribe them :—

“ And here I come to the consideration of a point of no little difficulty. I mean the way to deal with the railway bridge. As now designed, the bridge is intended to be put up at a distance of about 2000 yards above the Fort. Now, at such a distance, it could not be held by the garrison of the Fort. With a work such as I have proposed at Daragunje, it would, I think, be quite impracticable to hope to be able to occupy the head of the Jumna bridge too, if at such a distance from the Fort as 2000 yards. If the bridge therefore is left as now designed, it will not be within the protection given by the Fort, and would at once fall into the hands of an enemy who was strong enough to drive us out of the lines. But I am strongly inclined to think that the bridge should be moved up to the Fort, and that its approach should be incorporated into the masonry defensive work of the rampart. In this way the railway would be held so long as we kept a footing in the Doab, and a permanent

and perfectly secure communication with the right bank of the Jumna would be provided, which would be a most important military advantage. Under any circumstances a redoubt of some sort is necessary at Arail to occupy the high bank of the Jumna opposite the Fort. Such a work might readily be constructed in conjunction with the railway bridge abutment. The roadway passage, which it is proposed to have below the rails of the Jumna bridge, would give a most convenient access to this redoubt, with which otherwise a floating bridge of some sort would be necessary. Under such an arrangement the Fort Railway Station would be on the main line at the head of the bridge, and the branch now contemplated would not be required. It would be for consideration whether a small station should not be made at Arail also; in some points of view it might be useful. The exact system to be followed in bringing the railway bridge within the ramparts of the Fort is a matter of detail, which I am not in a position to discuss, but I think it probably would be found expedient to add an outwork specially devoted to contain the Fort station and bridge abutment. That there would be a heavy expense attending this arrangement, and that it would be a little difficult to manage satisfactorily, owing to the great height at which the rails have to be taken to allow of a proper headway in the bridge to keep quite clear of the Jumna floods, I am quite aware. But the advantages, in a military point of view, appear to me to be so great, that I think the necessary preliminary investigations should be made to decide whether the thing involves any practical impossibility. On this it is not possible to offer an opinion without an exact knowledge of the levels. The chief expense would be in the additional length of viaduct across the low ground from the town to the Fort. In the construction of the bridge itself,

so far as I can learn, one place is as good as another. Some diversion of the line would also be necessary on the right bank of the Jumna, but this would not be important. In a military point of view, a high viaduct leading up to the works would in some measure be objectionable, but as it would be directed straight towards the Fort, it would afford no dangerous cover to an enemy, and it might be so designed as to be easily pulled down in case of necessity !'

"Now, whether the proposed plans of Major Strachey for cutting off the end of the Doab with a line of redoubts to the west of the present town be approved or not, it seems certain that our last hold of Allahabad will always be at the existing Fort. If in the course of any contest we were driven from the station of Allahabad, off the high ground, our troops would naturally fall back to the Fort. Or if the claims of this place to be the quarters of a reserve force being set aside, a mere garrison were provided for this station, the Fort would be their stronghold from the first. In either case it would clearly be of the greatest importance to maintain our communications open to the last with Calcutta and Bombay, and this would involve the retention of the Jumna railway bridge. In case that bridge were lost, the garrison of the Fort would be cut off from communication on every side.

PAR. 8.—"If it were found possible to bring the railway bridge under the guns of the Fort, the communication with the south would be maintained as long as we could keep any footing at all in the Doab. Thus, holding the Jumna bridge, and commanding the head of the line of railway on the right bank of the Jumna as a dependency of the Fort, our position at Allahabad would certainly be very much

strengthened ; not only would the security of the place itself be increased, but our power of defending the lines of railway communication to Calcutta and Bombay would also be much greater. If we once lost possession of the heads of these lines we could no longer act with rapidity from Allahabad against distant points in defence of the rail, nor again could we receive help by rail from the south. Under circumstances such as those of which I speak, who shall say that our supremacy in Upper India might not hinge on the critical arrival of a single train? Eighteen months ago who would have foretold what was to depend upon the presence of seventy European invalids at this very spot?

PAR. 9.—“The removal of the railway bridge to the Fort, as I understand, would not cause any additional difficulty or expense in the bridge itself. I learn that probably the arrangement of the masonry work of the abutments of the bridge would have to be modified. A station would naturally be provided at the Fort, and probably another on a small scale would be found convenient at Arail. The earthwork on the right bank of the Jumna would require to be reconstructed for some short distance. An extension of the viaduct across the low land on the bank of the Jumna to the high ground on which the principal station of Kuchpoorwa is situated, would also be requisite. But I do not suppose that there would be any considerable difficulty in any of these works, though the cost of the viaduct might be heavy.

PAR. 10.—“As a set-off against this extra expense, the branch line, which otherwise must be made to the Fort, would be saved, as the Fort would now be on the main line.

PAR. 11.—“On the whole, the removal of the bridge to



the Fort and the incorporation of its abutments with the masonry defences of the Fort on one side of the Jumna, and of an outwork of Arail on the other, seem to me to be worthy of careful consideration, before commencing on the work of the bridge on the spot now designed.

PAR. 12.—“I submit the question to my honourable colleagues as one on which an early decision is to be desired. Should they concur with me, I would recommend that the Right Hon. the Governor-General be addressed on the subject, with a view to the necessary steps being taken for the professional consideration of all the questions involved, in order that any modifications of the design for the bridge may be determined upon as quickly as possible, and that no needless delay may occur, should the sanction of the Honourable Court and of the Railway Board to the general project that has been sent home for their approval be received at an early date.”

“13th August 1858.”

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## LINE OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

It might be thought that the view taken by Grant in 1858 was inapplicable to the state of things and to the nature of our communications at the present day. In one sense, of course, this is true. But a retrospect is often very useful, and the present generation of officials, Civil and Military, may like to know how such questions

were regarded by their predecessors just after the Mutiny.

The Jumna is now crossed by a bridge at Agra, as well as at Delhi; and there are also bridges at Cawnpore and at Saharunpore.

A railway on the right bank of the Jumna above Agra is contemplated. It will follow the lines originally intended for the East Indian Railway in 1858, but given up at that date. What is often discussed contemptuously as "Ancient History" deserves different treatment.

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## LINE OF RAILROAD ABOVE CAWNPORE

PAR. I.—"The Right Hon. the Governor-General has transmitted for our consideration a Minute on the proposed change of the East India Railway in the North-Western Provinces from the south to the north bank of the Jumna above Agra. His Lordship's conclusions are in favour of the adoption of the line running wholly through the Doab, instead of the original line which crossed the Jumna at Agra, and then ran through Agra up the south bank of the river. The precise direction of the main line in the Upper Doab, whether it should be taken through Meerut, or through Delhi, his Lordship leaves an open question, to be decided when the future status of Delhi shall be decided. But he is of opinion that as the main line would, in either case, go to Bulundshahr, and as a

branch would be necessary from Bulundshahr to Meerut in the event of the prolongation of the main line being taken to Delhi, a decision may at once be come to in favour of a line to Meerut, leaving it open for future considerations whether the main line shall be carried on from Meerut so as to cross the Jumna near Paniput, or shall be taken from Bulundshahr to Delhi so as to cross the Jumna at that city.

PAR. 2.—“ I have given this important question my best consideration, and have been led to a conclusion, on the main point at issue, in accordance with that of the Right Hon. the Governor-General; that is to say, I entirely concur with his Lordship in his opinion of the expediency of the change of line from the south bank of the Jumna to the Doab, though I am of opinion that the main line should go through Delhi, and that the connection with Meerut should be made by a branch from the main line near Ghaziudeen Nagar, and not from Bulundshahr. The reasons that have led me to these conclusions are as follows :—

PAR. 3.—“ The question of the change of line has been opened on considerations of State policy; the events of the last year have very materially altered our position in Upper India. The necessity for looking more carefully to our military hold of the country has led to an enquiry whether the seat of Government of the North-Western Provinces should be maintained at Agra, and the Governor-General in Council has recorded his intention of transferring it to Allahabad. It has also been a question whether it would not be politic to destroy the city of Delhi, or, at any rate, to discourage, as much as possible, its rehabilitation as a place of importance.

PAR. 4.—“The superiority of Allahabad over Agra as a capital for the North-Western Provinces is very strongly marked. Allahabad is, in almost every respect, well placed as the Capital of those provinces. Readily accessible by water for steamers of considerable size for many months of the year, it might easily be brought into permanent and regular water communication with Calcutta by the introduction of a proper class of vessels, suited to the peculiarities of the navigation, for there are no obstacles of a serious nature in the Ganges between Calcutta and Allahabad. The railway to Calcutta and the North-Western Frontier on the one hand, and to Bombay *via* Jubbulpore on the other, will have their junction at Allahabad. This will enable that Station, situated as it is just half-way between the eastern and western coast, to receive support from either quarter with equal ease. Nearly intermediate between Calcutta and Lahore, Allahabad will also afford the most convenient point for the concentration of the chief military and civil authorities of the Provinces of the Upper Ganges. As the quarters of a strong military reserve, it is admirably placed, for from it troops can move with equal facility in every direction—to Bundelkund, the Doab, Oudh, the Nepal Frontier, Behar, and Central Hindostan. To add to these advantages, its local peculiarities will enable us to convert it, at relatively small expense, into a place of great military strength, at which our Civil Capital and the extensive establishments and records attached to the north-western administration may be located, with almost perfect security, against such a disaster as befell us at Agra. It is better situated than Agra for a great central arsenal and a great central treasury, and, like Agra, it has a fort for their protection.

"I shall therefore assume that Agra shall no longer be the seat of Government in the North-Western Provinces.

"As to the next important preliminary point, the future condition of Delhi, there seem to be three possible events. First, the permanent desolation of the city; second, its restoration in natural course, leaving it, however, without troops; third, its natural return to its former condition with a strong garrison.

"As it is not yet formally determined, so far as I am aware, what is to be the fate of Delhi, I will advert, in discussing the change of line, to each of these possible events.

"I cannot think that such a measure as the permanent desolation of Delhi would now find favour. Had it been carried into effect immediately on the fall of the place, the lesson that would have been conveyed by such prompt vengeance on the rebellious city would have furnished an argument in support of such a policy, but now that almost a year has passed, the time for that penalty, if there was a time for it, seems to me to have passed. Indeed, I do not know that the measures taken since the capture of Delhi have left this an open question.

"Between enforced desolation and the natural return of the city to its former state, I can see, practically, no middle course, and if so, the memorandum of his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief is, in my judgment, conclusive against the probability of the second event. If Delhi is inhabited, a garrison or a body of troops cantoned in its immediate neighbourhood seems inevitable. At least, if this be not so, our system in India has been heretofore universally a mistake.

"The third event, then, is the one with a view to which,

in my opinion, a line of railway should be laid down. It is the one which not only accords best with my own feelings of what is right and expedient, but also presents itself to my judgment as by far the most possible.

"There are, doubtless, other points which deserve attention in the consideration of this question, looking at it in its military aspect. Of these I understand the most important is the necessity of covering the great crossings of the principal rivers, which constitute strategic features in the country, by suitable defensive works. In the memorandum of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, it is laid down as an axiom that the passage of the Jumna must be guarded at whatever place the line of communication may intersect it.

"I may here remark that I have requested attention to the position of the railway bridge at Allahabad, in view to this necessity in a separate Minute.

"Having disposed of these preliminary points, we first have to consider whether we should still maintain the line of railway crossing the Jumna at Agra as originally decided, which I shall call No. 1, or adopt a line up the Doab.

"The Minute of the Right Hon. the Governor-General, contains a clear review of the arguments on which the original decision of the Government of India was based, and a concise and, to me, convincing statement of how it has happened that the altered circumstances of the present time have undermined the main arguments on which that earlier decision rested. The removal of the seat of Government from Agra, and the probable reduction of the arsenal at that place to the position of a second-class magazine, quite changed the state of the case, and the line

up the right bank of the Jumna, in favour of which the decision was at first pronounced after some hesitation, and contrary to some opinions of great weight, must, I think, now give place to the line up the Doab. In arriving at this conclusion I do not feel that I am surrendering the judgment I before formed, but only that the balance of the argument, which then seemed in favour of carrying the main line through Agra, has, from the later condition of that city, now turned in favour of the Doab. That the arguments for taking the line up the Doab were very strong was never contested. The force of those arguments remains whilst the others no longer hold good.

“So far as the mere convenience of the town of Agra is concerned, as there is an excellent boat bridge maintained without difficulty throughout the year, it is really not a matter of great importance whether the railway station be on the right bank of the Jumna, in or near the city, or on the left bank opposite to it. At Calcutta, though the passage of the Hooghly is now a real inconvenience for want of a bridge, the railway station at Howrah answers its purpose, and it is admitted that with a bridge the terminus could not be better placed than where it is. At Agra, for passengers and ordinary merchandise, the river is hardly a greater obstacle than the same number of yards of the roads about the place.

“With respect to the loss of the local traffic between Agra and Delhi on the one hand, we have of course the set-off of the gain from the local traffic on the line up the Doab on the other. The relative wealth and importance of the districts through which the line would pass is, on the whole, in favour of the Doab. The through traffic to and from Delhi will, of course, be equally provided for in either

case, whether the main line passes through both places, or whether a branch only goes to Agra.

"There can be no doubt that, supposing only a single railway bridge for the passage of the Jumna, a bridge at or above Delhi would be more useful than one at Agra, as observed by the Right Hon. the Governor-General. The convenience of a Rohilkhand and Oudh line of railway would be completely met by a Jumna bridge at Delhi or above it, while in this point of view the Agra bridge would serve no useful purpose. The branch line from here to Delhi would serve well for the head of a line intended to be continued into Rohilkhand.

"Nor is it to be lost sight of that the trade of Delhi naturally does not follow a line along the river Jumna, but crosses it. The intercourse with the rich districts of the Doab and of Rohilkhand beyond is great. Of the distant trade from the north-west some will be real through-trade, which would be as well provided for by a rail down the right bank of the Jumna as by the line to cross at Delhi. But the portion of the trade that seeks its market at the Upper Doab and Rohilkhand, which is very considerable, will be far better suited by the latter line.

"It seems to me probable that a military authority would pronounce, in a strategic point of view, a line crossing the Jumna from the westward high up, and thence down the Doab, a more satisfactory line than one following the right bank of the Jumna and crossing at Agra. The former line would be covered by the Jumna from an enemy advancing from the west for a much longer distance than the other, and would afford a secure communication through a rich country, the resources of which would all become available in any contest on or beyond the Jumna. The other line



would not have such advantages. This, if my supposition be correct, is perhaps worth something.

"When this question was before discussed, the facilities for traffic given to the Doab by the Ganges Canal appeared to me a reason of some weight against preferring that country also for a railway, which should run almost alongside of the canal. But this argument, however worthy of consideration when the advantages of the rival lines were nearly evenly balanced, can hardly be allowed to tell against the preponderance of less remote arguments now in the opposite scale.

"These are the grounds on which I fully concur with the Right Hon. the Governor-General as the question now stands, in the conclusion against the line No. 1, and in favour of a line up the Doab. It remains to consider what precise course a line up the Doab should follow.

"And first, we have to select the point at which we should leave the original Agra line, in consideration of the progress which the works on the original line have now made. It seems to me quite right, as proposed by the chief engineer of the railway, to follow that line as far as Etimadpur, which is about 11 miles east of Agra. Thence the new line up the Doab would commence, while the Agra branch would commence from the same place, running along what is part of the original line No. 1. Had it been at first determined to take the rail up the Doab, leaving Agra to be supplied by a branch, the line would probably have been carried straight from Cawnpore up to Allyghur, and a branch would have been taken from Sikandra Rao in a direct line to Agra. But this, of course, would involve a change which cannot now be thought of, as the works through the Etawah district are

so far advanced, nor would any sufficient advantage now be gained by turning the main line up the Doab from any point south of Etimadpur, as, for instance, from Shekoabad.

"If the Agra branch follows the old line of rail from Etimadpur, it will not cause any seriously objectionable detour for the traffic to and from the north-west, while it will serve well, if need be, at any future time, for the head of a cross line joining Agra and Futtehghurh. I have always looked to cross lines in the Doab from river to river following the course of existing trade as an ultimate object never to be lost sight of.

"Above Etimadpur the first obligatory point is Allyghur. Beyond that place the direction of the line will mainly depend on the decision arrived at on the question whether the main line shall run direct to Delhi or not. In considering this important question I will take in order the three possibilities to which I have before alluded.

"And first, to show the full force of the argument in favour of Delhi, I will advert to the extreme supposition that Delhi is to be destroyed. In this case there will be a *tabula rasa* on which to work. The line might as well go over the site of the destroyed city as not, other things being the same. Now, as we learn from the Commander-in-Chief's memorandum, the first consideration which applies to all possible crossings of the Jumna, whether at Delhi or elsewhere, is that the bridge must be defended. This implies military works as well as a garrison. The old palace at Delhi supplies a military position of the sort required, almost ready made, whereas the formation of a new cantonment or garrison near Paniput would involve an entirely new set of works; and on other grounds, as pointed out by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, would be

an experiment which it would be better to avoid, if possible. Further, the ruins of the city would afford an ample supply of materials for the heavy works of the bridge and viaduct.

PAR. 26.—“In the event of the City of Delhi being allowed to restore itself in a natural course, the commercial advantage from taking the railway through it, whether it is garrisoned or not, would, in my mind, far outweigh anything that would be now gained in a political point of view, by refusing to allow the railway to touch it. It seems to me unnecessary to enter into long argument on this contingency. The necessity for the provision of proper military works at the bridge, and the obvious advantage of utilising the magnificent royal castle that now exists at Delhi, which would command the bridge, would equally exist on this supposition as on the one discussed above; while the profits to be derived from the local traffic would be a further reason for carrying the line through Delhi, rather than through a place where there was no such local traffic.

“And, as I have before said, I cannot but think that the question in relation to Delhi has in fact been already settled, and that this city will again, in due course, take up the position to which it seems naturally entitled. The great City which has existed at or near this spot, from the remotest ages of which history gives us records, in disregard of all changes of dynasty, and of all royal caprices, seems placed here by no mere accidental circumstance. It must be, in a great degree, the result of a natural tendency of population and trade to fix itself in a great centre in that place; and it might be doubted whether the permanent depopulation of this spot is in truth a thing more practicable than the arbitrary creation of such a city would

be at some other spot which Nature has not designed for a great metropolis.

"I believe the native Indian policy of encouraging a new town, in a new acquisition, at the expense of the old capital, very good policy where practicable; and in such a case as Lucknow, I believe it would be practicable. But Delhi is not in this position, and in its case I doubt the practicability of the policy.

"The only station in the Upper Doab which has any claim for consideration in preference to Delhi, in determining the position of the main line, is Meerut. The present inclination of the Right Hon. the Governor-General, I infer to be in favour of a main line from Etimadpur to Meerut, omitting Delhi altogether; or, at most, providing for it a branch and crossing the Jumna at Paniput. This line I will call No. 2. But, after all, Meerut is but a standing camp. It is nothing by nature. It is a place of no commercial importance, excepting to, and on account of, army followers. The population of the Meerut bazars will probably rather diminish than increase, in consequence of the reduction of the large native force that was formerly cantoned there.

"Of course, under any circumstances, whilst Meerut is a great military station, a branch would be made to it, but there seems to be no valid reason for taking the main line to it, to the exclusion of any place of greater general importance. The requirements of the military service, including those of any district magazine that may be placed at Meerut, will be quite as well met by means of a branch line as by the main line.

PAR. 29.—"For these reasons my conclusion is against the line No. 2, and in favour of a main line from Etimad-

pur, to Delhi, where it would cross the Jumna. This line I will call No. 3. It should provide for Meerut by a branch, which, as I would have it, would be a very short one, namely, the shortest possible connection between Meerut and the main line. This, I believe, will take the Meerut branch to Ghaziudeen Nagar, which will not exceed by more than 1 mile the shortest possible line from Meerut to the bridge at Delhi."

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## THE REBELLION IN JAMAICA, AND THE TRIALS AND SENTENCES OF THE REBELS.

*Reply to a Despatch from Lord Carnarvon on the Grounds  
for Remitting any Portions of the Sentences.*

9th October 1866.

"IT appears to me that, as far as it goes, the judicial evidence is of even greater value than any evidence that can be obtained by the Royal Commissioners in their admirably conducted enquiry. Where evidence is given under the solemnities of a great criminal trial, with the certain consciousness that every word may affect all but the life of the person it implicates, in the presence of those implicated, subject to their cross-examination, closely restricted to the issue in hand, and to the matters of fact within the personal knowledge of the witness, and is necessarily carried through till everything material is brought out on both sides, it has properly an effect on the mind that evidence wanting, whether wholly or partially, in these qualities, cannot have. Now the evidence in this

trial goes to the bottom of the outrage at Morant Bay on the 17th of October, and it goes sufficiently into previous proceedings, especially those at Stoney Gut, on the 10th of October, to show how far that outrage was or was not pre-arranged, or pre-determined, and what it was that those concerned imagined, they had commenced, when they committed it. It must be better, therefore, as affording in itself, not only the best foundation there is for a judgment of what was by far the greatest atrocity committed during the few days of actual disturbance, but also to a considerable extent a good foundation for a judgment upon the design of the leaders concerned.

“Moreover, this trial, which was held according to all the rules of English law, and was presided over by a legal Judge, was necessarily deliberate, regular, fair, and full, giving the accused every reasonable facility of defence; and was, therefore, necessarily, such as to afford every ground of reasonable conviction as to the truth of the verdict. But, with the exception of the two murder cases above-mentioned, this was, most unfortunately, the only important trial of the same sound character held from first to last. If, therefore, there is unhappily reason to fear that in some other cases, terminated without trial or after summary or hasty trial, mistakes in point of substantial justice may have been committed, this consideration should have no weight in reversing the results of the trial now in question, which ought to stand on its own merits, like any ordinary great criminal trial for a string of serious offences.

“I should not fully submit to your Lordship my full opinion upon this case, if I did not say that, in view merely to the future quiet of this Island, it is with me a matter of deep regret that, from the moment when those measures of

military execution which were necessary to the immediate restoration of the peace had had their desired effect, every prisoner whom it was resolved to proceed against at all was not tried by the method adopted in the trial now under revision.

"It appears to me that as soon as the immediate and paramount object was attained, such considerations as guide justice at all times, came into force; and it further appears to me (which is my present point) that such considerations remain in force down to the present time. It would be a great misfortune were any class of people here to fall into the delusion that, because certain measures of severity have been unavoidably disapproved, the acts which called forth those measures, so far as they were highly criminal and dangerous, are such as are thought lightly of by the highest authorities. The re-action after martial law must involve some risk of this sort; and it would be an unfortunate necessity, were the Government obliged, on supreme considerations of a merciful justice, to do anything that might tend to confound a grave sentence of the law, regularly and solemnly pronounced, with some hasty proceedings which cannot be too greatly deplored. Having given the case of every one of these prisoners my best attention, it is my opinion that considerations of justice will not admit of any remission of the punishment in some of the cases; and that in others of them, though the mercy of the Crown may be extended to them at some future time, it would not be advisable, for the reasons to which I have above ventured to point, to announce any remission of punishment for a long time to come, and only after the state of feeling in the colony recovers its tone."





